Oxford Church Text Books

Early Christian Doctrine

LEIGHTON PULLAN

Fcap. 8vo. One Shilling each.

Oxford Church Text Books

General Editor, The REV. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and Lecturer in Theology at St. John's, Oriel, and Queen's Colleges, Oxford.

A comprehensive Series of Cheap Scholarly Manuals dealing with the more important branches of Religious Knowledge.

It is felt that there is a decided need for such manuals for the use of students of Theology, candidates for Ordination, higher Classes in Schools, and for Church Guilds, written in full sympathy with definite Anglican doctrine.

The Hebrew Prophets. The Rev. R. L. OTTLEY, M.A., Rector of Winterbourne Bassett; formerly Principal of Pusey House, and Dean of Divinity of Magdalen College, Oxford.
[*Now Ready.*

Outlines of Old Testament Theology. The Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A., Lecturer in Hebrew at and Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford, Denyer and Johnson Scholar, 1893.

Old Testament History. W. C. ROBERTS, B.A., St. John's College, Oxford, Denyer and Johnson Scholar, 1898.

An Introduction to the New Testament. The Rev. W. C. ALLEN, M.A., Fellow, Lecturer and Librarian of Exeter College, Oxford.

The Text of the New Testament. The Rev. K. LAKE, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford.

The Teaching of St. Paul. The Rev. E. W. M. O. DE LA HEY, M.A., Tutor of Keble College, Oxford.

Evidences of Christianity. The Rev. LONSDALE RAGG, M.A., Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, and formerly Lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS, 34 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

Oxford Church Text Books—*Continued.*

Early Christian Doctrine. The GENERAL EDITOR. [*In the Press.*

The Apostles' Creed. The Rev. H. F. D. MACKAY, M.A., Merton College, and Pusey House, Oxford.

Mediæval Church Missions. C. R. BEAZLEY, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. [*In the Press.*

A History of the Church to 325. The Rev. H. N. BATE, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

General Church History. The Rev. F. E. BRIGHTMAN, M.A., University College, and Pusey House, Oxford.

A Church History of Great Britain. The Rev. W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Fellow, Tutor, Precentor and Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford. [*In the Press.*

The Reformation on the Continent. The Rev. J. B. KIDD, M.A., Keble College, Oxford; Tutor of Non-Collegiate Students, Oxford.

The Articles of the Church of England. The Rev. J. B. KIDD, M.A. [*In the Press.*

The Reformation in Great Britain. H. O. WAKEMAN, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

A Comparative History of Religions. The GENERAL EDITOR.

The Prayer Book. The Rev. J. H. MAUDE, M.A., Fellow, Dean and Lecturer of Hertford College, Oxford.

Instructions in Christian Doctrine. The Rev. V. S. S. COLES, M.A., Balliol College, Principal of Pusey House, Oxford.

The Future State. The Rev. S. C. GAYFORD, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS, 34 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

Oxford Church Text Books

Early Christian Doctrine

BY

THE REV. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A.

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST COLLEGE, OXFORD
LECTURER IN THEOLOGY AT ORIEL COLLEGE AND QUEEN'S COLLEGE

RIVINGTONS
34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*
LONDON
1899

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_KU-357-531

C. H. Bagot
Sept. 9. 99

PREFACE

This book contains a sketch of Christian doctrine from the earliest times until the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451. By that date the faith of the Church in Jesus Christ was expressed with such clearness that any serious misunderstanding on the subject of His Incarnation was rendered difficult. Some account is also given of the doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Sacraments, which are so intimately connected with the doctrine of the Incarnation.

Brevity has made it necessary to omit many important references and quotations which the writer hopes to incorporate in a larger book on dogmatic theology.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	Christian Doctrine in its simplest form,	1
II.	The Theology of St. Paul and St. John,	15
III.	Christian Doctrine from A.D. 90 to A.D. 180,	31
IV.	The Apologists—Montanism—Irenæus and Tertullian,	43
V.	Early Alexandrine Theology—Controversy with Monarchians,	59
VI.	Doctrine of the Sacraments before A.D. 325,	72
VII.	Arianism and the Divine Nature of Christ,	87
VIII.	The Union of the Divine and the Human Natures in Christ,	99
IX.	St. Augustine and the Athanasian Creed,	113
	CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,	118
	INDEX,	120

EARLY CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IN ITS SIMPLEST FORM

Introductory.—It is the distinctive feature of early Christian theology that it fastened upon the person of Christ as the centre of Christianity. We can conceive that a different line of thought might have been adopted. The Church might conceivably have made the moral precepts contained in the Sermon on the Mount, or a belief that God is the Father of all mankind, or the experience of conversion, the dominating principle of Christianity. But while these and other great religious truths were not forgotten, they were believed to depend upon the doctrine of the person of Christ. From the very nature of the case it followed that this doctrine had an enormous influence. Every other doctrine radiated from it, and it seems to have been assumed that any one who intelligently grasped the truth about Christ would be able to anticipate or approve the rest of the teaching of the Church.

Now this distinctive feature of ancient theology can be traced in the teaching of Christ himself. It is derived from an impression of a truth which was felt by the companions of Jesus. His words and His actions gradually convinced them that there was an unutterable difference between themselves and Him. At least two of our first three Gospels were probably written before A.D. 70, and not one of them can possibly be more than a very few years later than that date. St. John's Gospel can be shown by countless proofs to be the work of the beloved disciple of our Lord, and the opponents of Christianity, instead of maintaining their old theory that it was written

about A.D. 160, now admit that it may have been written some years before A.D. 100, and that it contains large elements of the genuine teaching of Christ. All the four Gospels are united in recording that Christ appeared before men with a unique claim and a unique method.

The Claim of Christ.—There is a certain amount of reserve in our Lord's teaching about himself. It was not until His ministry was drawing to a close that He openly declared that He was the Christ, the Messiah expected by the Jews as their deliverer and king. But He had steadily prepared His disciples to believe this. He makes repeated claims upon the allegiance of mankind, which suggest that He has a supernatural authority. Even in the Sermon on the Mount He revises and abrogates not merely the traditional doctrines of the Jewish scribes, but even the law of Moses itself. He not only draws a contrast between the true literal meaning of the fifth commandment and the glosses which had obscured that meaning, but He also replaces a literal adherence to the commandments against murder and adultery by an obedience to laws of a far more stringent character. His commands run thus: 'It was said to them of old time, . . . but I say unto you' (*Matt.* v. 21, 28). He here preaches the highest moral truth without appealing to any higher sanction than himself.

Similarly, He teaches that He has a right over each individual soul. An ancient legend tells us that the founder of Buddhism said to his followers, 'Be yourselves your lamp, yourselves your refuge.' The Buddha assumed that it was quite possible for men to value his precepts without paying any particular veneration to his person. Our Lord speaks quite otherwise. He preaches himself as being 'a greater than Solomon' (*Matt.* xii. 42). He offers himself as the greatest comfort of the human soul—'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest' (*Matt.* xi. 28). He requires that unlimited devotion which a man may not lawfully require of his fellow-man—'Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it' (*Mark* viii. 35). 'Every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or

lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life' (*Matt.* xix. 29). It was inevitable, therefore, that our Lord's person should have been a problem to His hearers, and so He asks, 'Who do men say that I am?' and then tests His disciples by asking, 'Who say ye that I am?' (*Mark* viii. 27, 29).

Christ as Judge.—Before He asked the above decisive question of His disciples, Jesus had expressly asserted that He would judge men after their death, and reward them according to the works which they had done in this life. He gave a vivid picture of the manner in which He would make a separation between those who had served Him and those who had rejected Him—'Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy by thy name, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name do many mighty works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity' (*Matt.* vii. 22, 23). And again He said, 'Every one therefore who shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven' (*Matt.* x. 32, 33). This stupendous assertion on the part of Christ corresponds with the forgiveness which He grants here and now to the repentant. To the woman who anointed His feet He says, 'Thy sins are forgiven,' and He rouses the indignation of the scribes by saying to the man sick of the palsy, 'Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven' (*Matt.* ix. 2).

Christ as Son of Man.—Christ very frequently calls himself 'the Son of Man.' This phrase is a Hebraism which denotes the possession of a truly human nature, true experience of human life and sorrow, and true dependence upon God. It is used in *Ps.* viii. 4 as a poetical name for mankind in general, and it is also employed by the prophet Ezekiel to describe himself. In *Dan.* vii. 13 Israel is symbolically personified under the name of 'Son of Man,' and from signifying Israel as a whole the phrase came to signify the Messiah who was to be the perfect Israelite. In part of the Jewish *Book of Enoch*, written in the century before our Lord's coming, this use of the

title is common, and it has therefore been supposed that our Lord took the title from that book in consequence of the Messianic character which He had previously assumed. But our Lord expands the meaning of the title in such a way as to make it doubtful whether He had any intention of recalling to the minds of His hearers the somewhat fanciful descriptions of the *Book of Enoch*.

It is true that in that book the Son of Man is represented as sharing with God in the judgment of the world, and that Christ speaks of himself under this title when He prophesies His glorious return and His judgment of all mankind (*Mark* viii. 38). But there are other passages in which our Lord uses the title without introducing any of the apocalyptic scenes of judgment and splendour with which it had become associated. The title still implies sovereignty, but it is a sovereignty of an entirely new order, it is the rule of the ideal Man who represents all that is best in human character and is in perfect sympathy with every rank and every nation. The *Book of Enoch* contains no suggestion that the Son of Man was expected to live a life of service and die to redeem the world. But this is the peculiar function of the Son of Man described by Jesus Christ himself (*Mark* x. 42-45).

Christ as Son of God.—Near Cæsarea Philippi our Lord asked of His disciples, 'Who say ye that I am?' It is plain from the context (*Mark* viii. 27-30) that He was not satisfied to be numbered simply among the great prophets, and that He accepted the answer given by St. Peter, 'Thou art the Christ.' Immediately afterwards it is added that 'He charged them that they should tell no man of him.' He did not desire that His Messiahship should be taught hastily. To have done this would have been to raise the hopes of His hearers not towards a moral renovation but towards material prosperity. Jesus would not permit men to believe that He was such a Messiah as the Jews ordinarily expected. At the same time He knew that He was the true Messiah, and declared it in the most solemn manner at the supreme moment when the high priest asked Him, 'Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' (*Mark* xiv. 61).

He taught that He was not only as great as the Messiah whom the Jews expected, but greater. He is himself the King of that divine kingdom, which He came to found, and through all His Messianic claims there is the suggestion that He is in a unique sense the Son of God. When He was discovered by His mother in the Temple at the age of twelve, He showed that He was conscious of being the real Son of God; the same truth was repeated in the voice heard from heaven at His baptism, and, although He taught His disciples to call God 'Our Father,' He called God His own Father in a special sense (*Matt.* xvi. 17). The Jews interpreted *Ps.* ii. 7 and *Ps.* lxxxix. 27 as Messianic, but it was only in a titular and honorific fashion that they applied the phrase 'Son of God' to the Messiah. They were willing to believe that the Messiah, as the head of a theocratic state, sufficiently resembled God to be called His Son. They were not willing to allow that any teacher could literally share in the Divinity of God.

But our Lord claimed to be literally divine. In the synoptic Gospels He asserts that He stands in a relation to God which no man could possibly occupy, He alone adequately reveals and knows God (*Matt.* xi. 27). He accepts the title of 'the Son of the living God' (*Matt.* xvi. 16) from St. Peter's lips, and will not save His life by disowning it when addressed by the high priest. He had previously suggested it in an unmistakable manner when He uttered the parable about the one son, the 'beloved,' who was killed by the wicked husbandmen (*Mark* xii. 6). If we carefully consider the statements recorded by the Synoptists, we shall welcome the light which is thrown upon them by the statements recorded in St. John's Gospel. For in the synoptic Gospels Christ claims to be the perfect Saint, the supreme Lawgiver, and the final Judge. He declares himself to be the sole Master of His disciples (*Matt.* xxiii. 10), He inserts His own name between that of the Father and that of the Spirit (*Matt.* xxviii. 19), and promises to be wherever two or three are gathered together in His name (*Matt.* xviii. 20).

St. John represents Jesus as saying that He had the life of God within himself (*John* v. 26), and that 'the Father hath given all judgment unto the Son; that all

may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father' (*John* v. 23). He co-ordinates His work with the work of God when He commands an impotent man to carry his bed on the Sabbath day. He teaches that there is a unity, not only of co-operation, but also of omnipotence, in the passage where he declares, 'I and the Father are one thing' (*John* x. 30). He asserts that He existed before Abraham was born, and in such a manner as to show that His existence had no beginning and could have no end (*John* viii. 58). The Jews understood Him and attempted to kill Him. They detected blasphemy in His assertions, for they perceived that He regarded himself as God (*John* x. 33). St. Mark shows that the high priest assumed that the Sanhedrim would condemn Him the moment that Jesus stated that He was the Son of God. St. John does nothing more than logically continue the synoptic narrative when he says that the Sanhedrim declared to Pilate, 'We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God' (*John* xix. 7). All the Gospels agree in proving that the history of Christ's death is unintelligible unless He called himself the Son of God, not merely in an ethical sense, nor merely in the official sense of 'Messiah,' but also in the deeper sense that He claimed to be a divine Person who had clothed himself with human nature (cf. *Luke* i. 35).

The Fatherhood of God.—The teaching of our Lord revealed to men the true nature of the Fatherhood of God. The more devout Jews had some conception of God acting as a Father to His chosen people, pitying His children 'like as a father' (*Ps.* ciii. 13). But in the teaching of Christ this idea is central and dominant. It carries with it the thought of a love which creates and teaches, which plans and gives, and is bestowed upon all God's children freely. But it must be remembered that Christ does not teach that His disciples are or can be sons of God in the same unique sense as himself. He speaks to them of 'your heavenly Father' (*Matt.* vi. 14) in a manner which marks a distinction between His own Sonship and theirs. Nor does Christ teach that we are the children of God if we reject His Son (*John* viii. 42).

It is only through submission to Christ that we become God's children (*John* xiv. 6 ff.; *Rom.* viii. 15).

Christ's Teaching about Salvation.—When Christ began His ministry He said, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor' (*Luke* iv. 18). He makes salvation depend upon the acceptance of His message from God. He is the Sower who scatters the word of God; the word contains the power of fruitfulness in itself, though its actual fruitfulness depends upon the soil which receives it. The great subject of this message is the Kingdom of God. The Jews expected that the theocracy or Kingdom of God which had flourished among them in the times of David and Solomon would return in a more glorious form. This expectation nerved them to maintain their nationality and their religion. At the same time the interpretation of the Kingdom of God which was current among them was so secular that it was necessary for Christ to transform it.

(1) The Jews expected that it would be a kingdom of material prosperity and success. Christ opposes this by specially promising a share in it to the 'poor in spirit' (*Matt.* v. 3). He describes it as the highest good which men can seek and as a spiritual sphere of life.

(2) The Jews thought that it had not yet come. Christ teaches that the final stage has not yet come (*Luke* xxii. 18), but He says that it is already here and suffering violence (*Matt.* xi. 12). Christ himself has brought it (*Luke* xi. 20).

(3) The Jews believed that it was a national Jewish kingdom, to which the Jews had a hereditary right. Christ assured them that it would be taken from them (*Matt.* xxi. 43). He opened it to all who would recognise Him as their King, and by a sincere repentance or 'change of mind' (*Luke* xxiv. 47) forsake sin and fulfil His commands in the spirit of little children (*Mark* x. 15).

Our Lord never ceased to preach the Kingdom of God, which is also His own Kingdom (*Matt.* xiii. 41). But when He had sufficiently trained His followers to believe absolutely in His message, and declared that it was

necessary not only to trust His message but to receive Him as God himself, He showed that the Kingdom of God was henceforth to be identical with the Christian Church.

When Peter confesses that He is 'the Son of the living God,' Christ rewards him by saying, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church . . . I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (*Matt.* xvi. 18, 19). The word 'Church' had been used by the Jews as a name of God's chosen people. Christ now founds what He calls 'my Church.' It is His own institution, and He describes it in terms which show it to be visible and imperishable, and opened by an appointed human guardian. In *Matt.* xviii. 15-20, He further describes His Church as the home of brothers whose brotherhood depends upon submission to Christ. The brother who persists in sin and refuses to hear the Church is to be excluded, and this exclusion will be ratified in heaven. After this solemn statement our Lord declares that He is personally present with the members of the Church who gather together in His name. His language on this occasion implies His true Divinity as much as any language used by Him in the Gospel of St. John.

It finally became necessary for Jesus to tell His disciples that He must die. He could not reveal this to them until they were firmly rooted in their faith. The Jews did not imagine that their Messiah would die or even suffer. But when His disciples had learnt that He was indeed the Son of God, He was able to suggest to them the full truth. He says, 'I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished' (*Luke* xii. 50). With greater clearness He tells them that He must 'give his life a ransom for many.' By this He means that man is a prisoner who cannot purchase freedom from sin for his soul, and that the Son of God pays the precious ransom which sets man free. A year before His death, in the great discourse recorded in *John* vi., He declared that He would give to men a living bread, which is the flesh which He would give for the life of the world.

The night before He died, He made plain what He

meant by His former language about this life surrendered to God and imparted to men. While celebrating the Passover with His disciples, He consecrated a portion of the unleavened bread and a cup of wine mingled with water, saying, 'This is my Body'—'This is my Blood.' He apparently wished to recall to His disciples the blood of the Paschal lamb which was sprinkled on the door-posts of the Israelites in Egypt, and saved them from the visitation of the destroying angel.

He also claimed to found that new Covenant between God and His servants which Jeremiah had foretold. The shedding of His blood secures deliverance from evil, and makes a new and closer relation between God and man. The Lord's Supper was therefore meant to be a sacrificial feast of reconciliation with God, a reconciliation made possible by the death of Jesus. It was also meant to be a means of receiving from Jesus that life of which He is the Source, and which He derives from the eternal Father (*John* vi. 57).

After He was risen from the dead, Christ ordered Christian Baptism, directing that the converts made by His disciples should be baptized 'into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' When the Jews made proselytes, these proselytes were not admitted to the full privileges of sons of Israel until they were baptized. If they had children at the time, these children appear to have been baptized also. John the Baptist baptized his disciples to prepare them for the new Covenant of Christ. But our Lord himself instituted another cleansing to be an actual means of entrance into His own kingdom. Some modern critics have asserted that our Lord could never have used such a formula as 'the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' But although the early Christians perhaps baptized sometimes only 'into the name of the Lord Jesus' (*Acts* viii. 16), there is no real reason to doubt that Christ used the above formula. St. Paul uses the same formula in 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14, and the synoptic Gospels and St. John's Gospel agree in mentioning a Trinity of divine persons (*John* xiv. 26; cf. *Eph.* v. 18-20; *Hebr.* x. 29).

That the cleansing which Christ meant to be bestowed by His apostles in Baptism is a cleansing from sin by the Holy Spirit is evident, and it is further illustrated by His words to Nicodemus (*John* iii. 5). Our Lord could not have used the language in which He commanded this rite, unless He had been conscious that He was divine and able to say, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (*Matt.* xxviii. 20). And this once more reminds us that the centre of all Christian doctrine is 'Jesus only,' and that no Christian can be indifferent to anything which implies a true view of Jesus Christ.

Doctrine in the Acts of the Apostles.—Our Lord died and rose again in A.D. 29, and according to an ancient tradition, the apostles remained together in Jerusalem for twelve years afterwards. The earliest form of their teaching has been faithfully preserved for us in *Acts* i.-xii., where St. Luke, who wrote *Acts* about A.D. 75, has made use of a very early Jewish Christian document. The Christians have no wish to break with Judaism, but regard themselves as the true Israel. They worship in the Temple and in the synagogues, although they meet in private houses for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. They still observe the precepts of the Jewish Law. They are under the authority of the apostles, who appoint a successor to Judas, and then appoint seven ministers to attend to the temporal needs of the poorer brethren. It is uncertain how soon the ministry was completed by the appointment of presbyters, but these officials are mentioned in the later chapters of the book.

The doctrine of Christ's person is very simple, but very deep. The apostles are convinced that Jesus is the Messiah, and the Resurrection of Jesus has removed any doubts which they may once have entertained. In discoursing to the Jews the utmost stress is laid upon the Resurrection, and St. Peter declares that the suffering, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Messiah were foretold in the Old Testament (*Acts* ii. 27, 34; iii. 18). Jesus is declared to be the Messiah, anointed by God, the Holy One. He is also in a special sense the Holy Servant or Child of God. He is not a merely human Messiah; He

is Lord, Prince of life, and Saviour. He is not at first called God (as in *Acts* xx. 28), or even Son of God (as in *Acts* ix. 20). At the same time He is declared to fulfil divine functions. It is He who has poured out the Holy Spirit (ii. 33), and His name or revealed personality is declared to have just restored a lame man to soundness (iii. 16), signs and wonders are expected to be done through Him (iv. 30). There is 'salvation' in none other (iv. 12), and He is to be 'the Judge of quick and dead' (x. 42). St. Stephen in his dying moments addresses the Lord Jesus in prayer. We have here the simplest kind of theology. There is nothing metaphysical on its surface. Jesus is the Messiah who takes part in the work of God and is worshipped and is expected to return in the near future. The Holy Spirit is divine and personal.

St. James acted as bishop of Jerusalem until his martyrdom in A.D. 62. His Epistle shows us the simple doctrines of the first Jewish Christians. The book contains no mention of the observance of Jewish ordinances. And yet Christianity is represented under the aspect of a law, a law of liberty, the observance of which, with the love and mercy which it involves, will be rewarded by a merciful judgment from God. Great stress is laid upon the necessity of good works, and this has led many modern writers to suppose that the Epistle is opposed to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. But St. James when he urges his readers to regard works as essential has the same object in view as St. Paul when he urges his readers to regard faith as essential. Both have the character of men at heart; St. Paul opposes works which are done in the spirit of a business contract with God, St. James opposes a faith which is only a lifeless orthodoxy. St. James keeps very closely to the principle of our Lord, which was not to destroy the law but to emphasise its inner meaning.

The main difference between St. Paul and St. James is that St. Paul regards the religious life as the working out of the life of Christ in the Christian, while St. James defines it as consisting in acts of charity and self-control (i. 27). The two doctrines are quite compatible, and although St. James says nothing explicitly about the

union of the believer with Christ, he does regard Christians as sharers in the life of God through Christ (i. 18). St. James also generally uses the word 'faith' of that kind of faith which may be common to both Jew and Christian, while St. Paul generally uses it of faith in Jesus Christ, a complete devotion and adhesion to Christ.

St. James says little about our Lord's person, but speaks of Him as 'Lord of glory' (ii. 1), as able to raise the sick, and about to come to judgment. By describing himself as the 'bond-servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ' (i. 1), the writer shows that he believes himself to stand in the same relation to Jesus Christ as to God.

The Epistle of **St. Jude**, who, like St. James, was called a brother of our Lord, is directed against a lascivious sect whose principles bore some resemblance to the teaching which St. Paul rebuked in his letter to Colossæ. This sect apparently denied the reality of the incarnation and the unique Lordship of Christ (*Jude* 4). The writer, like St. James, calls himself the bond-servant of Christ. The Holy Spirit, God, and the Lord Jesus Christ are mentioned together (*Jude* 20, 21) in a manner which suggests to us that the writer was familiar with the Trinitarian formula. This Epistle, in spite of its simple character, was probably written late in the apostolic age, as the word 'faith' is used in the sense of a system of belief, the faith for which the readers are asked to contend being a full and definite confession of Christ.

The two Epistles of **St. Peter** are of rather uncertain date, but were probably written late in the apostle's lifetime, and therefore after A.D. 60. While the tone of the first Epistle is distinctly practical, it contains a rich theology. The rebuke which St. Paul administered to St. Peter at Antioch for pretending that he agreed with the narrow-minded Jewish Christians who would not eat with the Gentiles, shows us that St. Peter in his heart agreed with St. Paul. He really believed in a universal Gospel, meant for all mankind and not for Jews only. This Epistle shows us a thorough comprehension of this great principle. The privileges of God's

ancient people belong to the whole body of those who believe in Christ. They are called the *royal priesthood* and the *holy nation*. St. Peter lays great stress upon the reality of Christ's manhood and the value of His example. As in the early chapters of *Acts*, the Resurrection and Exaltation of Christ and His return to judge the world (v. 4) are made prominent.

It is taught that Christ existed in heaven before He was born on earth, for He was not only 'foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world' (i. 20), but His Spirit was in the prophets before His incarnation (i. 11). The thought of reconciliation with God through the *precious blood* of Christ is much cherished by St. Peter. Christ the righteous Judge, 'his own self bore our sins in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness' (1 *Pet.* ii. 24). He suffered in order to 'bring us to God.' He removes the barrier between man and God which sin has created. To Christ, as unto a divine Being, glory and dominion are ascribed (1 *Pet.* iv. 11). In consequence of His Resurrection He is able to renew our souls in baptism (1 *Pet.* iii. 21; cf. i. 3).

The authenticity of the *Second Epistle of St. Peter* has been more questioned than that of any other Epistle in the New Testament. The external evidence for it is meagre, and the Epistle has frequently been assigned to the second century. The allusion to St. Paul's Epistles points to a date which is not likely to be earlier than A.D. 60, but the absence of any allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem makes it improbable that the Epistle is later than A.D. 70. The doctrine agrees with that of the apostolic age. In the polemical part of the Epistle there is a reference to heretics who will deny the Master who bought them, but there is nothing to show that the author lived among the heresies of the second century. The Divinity of Jesus Christ is repeatedly implied. The writer describes himself as the 'bond-servant and apostle of Jesus Christ' (i. 1), and the practical knowledge of Jesus, like the knowledge of God, is described as the source of spiritual peace and the crowning point of Christian perfection. This knowledge secures an

escape from the defilements of the world (ii. 20) and an entrance into the eternal Kingdom of Christ (i. 11).

It has been thought that a late date is implied in the statement in 2 *Pet.* i. 4, that through the promises of God granted to us in Christ we 'become partakers of the divine nature.' But if we reject the authenticity of the Epistle on this ground we shall logically be compelled to deny an apostolic origin to almost every book in the New Testament. For it is repeatedly taught in the New Testament that the Christian receives the infusion of a new and divine life. We have already noticed it in *James* i. 18, and the undisputed Epistles of St. Paul are steeped in this doctrine of communion between God and man through Christ. It follows quite naturally from the doctrine that Christ is himself divine. Throughout this Epistle Jesus Christ is frequently named where we should expect to see the name of God. He is called 'our Lord,' 'the Lord and Saviour,' and even 'our God and Saviour Jesus Christ' (i. 1).

CHAPTER II

THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PAUL AND ST. JOHN

St. Paul's teaching about the Flesh and Sin.—To understand the whole system of St. Paul's doctrine it is necessary to study his spiritual experiences. He had been the determined enemy of Christ, and by an abrupt transformation became an enthusiastic disciple. He was convinced that at a particular moment of his life the risen Christ appeared to him, and his conversion was caused by this appearance. He had been less prepared for this conversion by the teaching of the Christians whom he persecuted than by the cruel struggle which he has recorded in *Rom.* vii. Externally blameless, his life was internally unpurified. He was conscious of strong passions and desires, of a tendency to do wrong and a weakness in performing what his own conscience approved. He attributed these faults not to his own true self, for his true self opposed them, but to Sin. Now Sin is only a natural inherited corruption until a person is able to distinguish right from wrong. It becomes actual Sin or conscious 'transgression' only when we rebel against the Law and choose to do what we believe to be wrong. A medium of sensual impulses and desires is afforded by the Flesh. The Flesh is not regarded as inherently sinful, or as the cause of Sin. But when controlled by Sin it becomes, like Sin, a principle openly at war with the Spirit (*Gal.* v. 19; *Rom.* viii. 4). Therefore the man who desires deliverance from Sin also desires deliverance from the evil activities of the Flesh.

The vision of Christ which appeared to St. Paul was the vision of a 'life-giving Spirit,' a divine person who

had taken human flesh but had overcome death, and was now beyond the reach of any temptation to sin. Corresponding with the outward appearance, although not to be confounded with it, there came a revelation in the heart of the future apostle which made him in after times say 'it pleased God to reveal his Son in me.' He felt a new conception of the office of the Messiah. The Messiah had not come, as the Jews expected, to reward righteous Jews, but to free all men from Sin. He had suffered for the sins of others, 'He was wounded for our transgressions,' He had offered to God the service of a sinless life, even though it brought Him to the death of the cross. God allowed His Son to die like a sinner that man might no longer misinterpret God's forbearance towards Sin as indifference. God had accepted this perfect surrender as a propitiation for man's self-indulgence. He had shown His approval by raising Jesus from the dead. Therefore to avail oneself of what Jesus has done is to gain the pardon of God.

St. Paul determined to seek salvation through Christ, and he was baptized. He was conscious that God had sent forth 'the Spirit of his Son' into his heart, that he had 'put on Christ.' He had come under a new and penetrating control. Before his conversion he had felt 'sin revive' and hope die within him, because the words 'thou shalt not covet' had not only forbidden actual sin but also an inward liking for Sin. He now was conscious that the liking for Sin was gone. He had begun to be dead to Sin, not by virtue of an external discipline but by virtue of a new force and life infused into him. His spiritual being was now *life* because of its new state of righteousness (*Rom.* viii. 10). Discipline was still necessary, he still had to buffet his body (1 *Cor.* ix. 27). For the spiritual man may be tempted; he may lose his hold upon Christ; having begun in the Spirit he may end in the flesh; he may be lost. But victory had already begun through union with Christ. Already he had crucified the flesh so far as it was the medium of wrong impulses and desires. This is not an asceticism which tramples upon human nature; it exalts it. It is the life of the true athlete who runs 'not as uncertainly.'

St. Paul's teaching about Faith, Righteousness, and the Law.—The enthusiastic surrender to Christ which results in moral victory and progress, St. Paul calls **Faith.** This is the act by which a man desires to identify himself with Christ, to die with Christ, and rise with Him in newness of life. It is an act of a man's whole nature, including the intellect, the affections, and the resolution to obey Christ. In popular language Faith is sometimes represented as the conviction that Christ was punished by God instead of sinners. This conception of Faith is part of the truth. For sinless as Christ was, He drank the cup which our sins had mingled. He felt forsaken by the Father. The love of God the Son accepted the suffering which the love of God the Father permitted. But when St. Paul speaks of Faith in its truly Christian sense, he means the attitude of a man who devotes himself to Christ and allows his whole character to be rooted in Christ, and thus finds in Christ not only a Saviour from punishment but also a Saviour from Sin. A one-sided view of Faith always tends to be antinomian and immoral. But the Pauline doctrine of Faith teaches us that Faith is trust in One who lifts us into communion with the supreme Moral Being. A Faith which does not stimulate the highest moral tone is not Faith at all.

The same truth is enforced by St. Paul's teaching about **Righteousness.** To have believed that there was only an arbitrary connection between the righteousness of Christ and the righteousness of the Christian would have been to oppose all his religious experience. He teaches that there is an organic union between the spiritual man and Christ quite as real as the connection between our own fleshly nature and the fleshly nature of Adam. A man is justified, or acquitted as non-guilty and righteous by God, when that man receives 'the righteousness of God.' This phrase means the righteousness inherent in God himself and bestowed by God upon man. The method of attaining this righteousness is through that faith by which a man sees that Jesus is Messiah and Lord, is made a member of Christ by baptism, and receives His Spirit. Christ then lives in him, his deeds are Christ's. The Christian is therefore literally and truly righteous,

although 'ungodly' up to the moment of his acquittal. When he submits to the control of the Flesh, he ceases to be righteous, he falls under the condemnation of God, and will be 'broken off' like the withered branches of Judaism.

Experience of 'the righteousness of God by faith' gave St. Paul a key to the meaning of the Jewish Law and all Law. He holds that Law, all external enactment saying 'thou shalt' or 'thou shalt not,' was given in consequence of sin. It would have been unnecessary if there had been no sin. St. Paul is convinced that the Law is good and that it is spiritual. In *Rom.* vii. he shows that it discharges functions which are incompatible with the view that the Law is sinful. For it teaches man what sin is, and it cannot itself be sin if it irritates sin into activity. But it is in fundamental contrast with the Gospel; it cannot make men righteous, and if it could do so, Christ's death was useless. The Law is, to use a modern illustration, like a bracket in the page of God's dealings with mankind. It does not limit the promise which God gave to Abraham, it comes between that promise and its fulfilment in order that men may realise their need of 'the righteousness of God by faith.' It is a stage in the development of our moral education, a stage which we are bound to outgrow.

The relation of the Christian to the Law is twofold. (1) By identifying himself with Christ crucified and becoming infused with His Spirit, the Christian becomes discharged from the Law and sin at the same moment. Christ until He died was under the Law (*Gal.* iv. 4). But His risen life is a life of complete freedom from the Law. In the same way the man who identifies himself with Christ and dies to sin is free from the jurisdiction of the Law. (2) Release from the Law does not mean license to sin. On the contrary, the Christian is now able to perform what the Law declares to be righteous (*Rom.* viii. 4). He does it spontaneously because he now possesses the righteousness of God. He is moved by that love which is the fulfilling of the Law. Therefore St. Paul asserts, 'We establish the Law.' Shining through the narrow and many-coloured windows of the Jewish Law there is an eternal and

universal Law which will be cherished by all the sons of God. The whole matter is summed up in three sentences, each of which conveys an aspect of the same truth. 'Neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature' (*Gal.* vi. 15). 'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love' (*Gal.* v. 6). 'Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but the keeping of the commandments of God' (1 *Cor.* vii. 19).

St. Paul's Doctrine of Christ's Person.—St. Paul's doctrine of Christ's person is fundamentally the same through all his Epistles. Christ is throughout both divine and human, the Son of God in a unique sense, and the sinless Mediator between God and man. But St. Paul developed his statements and explanations of this doctrine in accordance with the lessons which he desired to enforce, and in opposition to the errors against which he was obliged to contend. In the two earlier groups of his Epistles the teaching about Christ is mainly *implicit*. His Divinity is *implied* in the position assigned to Him. In the third group of Epistles the teaching is *explicit*. His Divinity is *explained* for one or other particular purpose.

The *Epistles to the Thessalonians* form the first group of St. Paul's Epistles. Here the unique character of Christ's Sonship is suggested by the phrase, 'Wait for his Son from heaven . . . even Jesus, which delivereth us from the wrath to come' (1 *Thess.* i. 10). Jesus is in both Epistles called 'The Lord Jesus,' and each letter closes with the prayer that His grace, or unmerited kindness, may be with the readers. The stress of persecution seems to have raised in the Thessalonians an eager desire for the return of Christ, which alone could bring them release. St. Paul makes no full statement about the person of Christ, nor does he explain the atonement (touched upon in v. 10). He simply assumes that Jesus is the exalted Lord who dispenses salvation and will return to judge the world. The connection between this Epistle and the sayings of our Lord in *Matt.* xxiv. is obvious. In 2 *Thess.* the apostle speaks of a 'man of sin' who will be annihilated by the true Messiah at His second coming. This 'man

of sin' will assume equality with God and sit in the temple of God. The apostle seems to regard unbelieving Judaism as personified in an Antichrist who will pretend to be a consubstantial representative of God like the One who is foretold in *Mal.* iii. 1. This picture of the false Messiah suggests the supreme position which St. Paul attributes to the true Messiah, to whom he ascribes divine functions.

The *Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans* form the second group of St. Paul's Epistles. They contain a large amount of teaching about the person of Christ. In writing to the Corinthians, St. Paul had to warn his readers against the dangers connected with the presence of idolatry. And in 1 *Cor.* viii., in view of pagan polytheism, he points out the dignity of Christ. 'As there are gods many, and lords many; yet to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him.' Here the true God is contrasted with the so-called gods and the true Lord with the many lords. It cannot be questioned that the apostle means that Christ belongs to the sphere of divine life. The same doctrine is implied in those passages which speak of our relation to Christ. On the one hand we see that Christ is 'the first-born among many brethren' (*Rom.* viii. 29), and that we are destined to be conformed to His image. He is therefore in a true sense our brother. But on the other hand He is God's 'own Son' (*Rom.* viii. 3) in a supreme sense, and to Him alone belongs the privilege of being 'image of God' (2 *Cor.* iv. 4). We may reflect His likeness, but He alone has eternally been related to the Father in such a way that He is fitted to reveal Him completely. St. Paul does not hesitate to draw the conclusion which logically follows from his belief in this communion of life between the Father and the Son. He applies to Christ passages which in the Old Testament refer to Jehovah, and in *Rom.* ix. 5 says that He is 'over all, God blessed for ever.'

Not much is said about the historical human life of our Lord. He was 'born of a woman' (*Gal.* iv. 4) and

sent into the world in the likeness of sinful flesh, but nevertheless knew no sin (2 *Cor.* v. 21). His life was one of self-denial, and His sufferings and resurrection are mentioned. This human Christ who suffered and rose again is none other than the Son of God by virtue of the divine nature or 'Spirit of holiness' which He possesses (*Rom.* i. 4).

We should notice in conclusion that the *Epistle to the Romans* does not seem to have been written as an argument against Judaising tendencies in the Roman Church, but as a mature statement of God's dealings with mankind through Christ, a statement which would end any controversy which might arise between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The divine Lordship of Christ is assumed rather than stated, as the readers of the Epistle are in no uncertainty as to the foundations of Christian teaching.

The *Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians.* —In *Phil.* ii. 5-11 we have an important passage which is introduced with a definite purpose—to illustrate the spirit of self-sacrifice. Our Lord is held up as the pattern of those who do not insist upon their rights. We are told that Christ 'being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men.' The Arians of the fourth century interpreted this to mean that He was a lesser God who did not grasp equality with the great God. But it is plain that all such interpretations are absurd. For the force of Christ's example would have been worthless if He had been a created spirit who only abstained from grasping at divine prerogatives which it would be impious to desire. There is no self-sacrifice in abstaining from such impiety. St. Paul means that Christ had the form or attributes of God, but that He humbled himself by taking the attributes of a servant. This involved a 'self-emptying,' an entrance into human limitations, and was followed by a life of humble dependence upon God. This was self-sacrifice indeed, and it is to be the model of Christian conduct. The reward of the human obedience of Jesus Christ was His exaltation into heaven. The Name

which He bore during His humiliation, and is the symbol of His human nature, now calls forth the adoration of angels and of men and of the souls of the departed.

In *Colossians* St. Paul gives a full statement of the significance of Christ's person in order to correct some errors prevalent at Colossæ. A heresy had become prevalent which was a kind of Christian theosophy. It taught that for the perfection of the Christian life something more than ordinary Christian doctrine and morality was required. Christianity was therefore combined with various Jewish and Oriental superstitions and with rigidly ascetic rules of life. The doctrine and the conduct of the false teachers were based upon one principle, namely, that material and physical existence is degrading. Therefore it was taught (i) that man must approach God by repressing all bodily instincts, and (ii) that God approaches man through a chain of intermediate beings among whom His attributes are divided. The lowest of these beings would be sufficiently material to condescend to come into contact with mankind.

St. Paul saw how much this teaching would destroy a true conception of the dignity of Christ. He therefore declares that the Son is the image of God, the adequate counterpart of the Father. He is also the 'firstborn of all creation,' *i.e.* not created, but, as the context shows, 'born before all creation,' and Lord of creation. All things were created *in Him*, since in His mind the plan of creation was eternally present; *by Him*, since it was through His power that all things came into being; *unto Him*, since every creature finds the explanation of its being by living for His glory. All things *cohere* in Him. The sum total of the attributes of God dwells in Him *bodily* (*Col.* ii. 9). Material and physical life are therefore hallowed both by the creation and by the incarnation. The Son is Saviour as well as Creator. He is the one divine link between the Father and the world both in redemption and in creation. The Church is the new creation, and Christ is the Head with whom all the members of the Church are in communication. He directs their functions so that the whole body works together (*Col.* ii. 19).

In *Ephesians* this conception of the universal Creator and Saviour leads to a fuller idea of the universal Church. It is the eternal purpose of God to sum up all things in Christ as their point of unity. By His Passion, Jews and Gentiles are attracted and combined; by the power of His ascended life, He unifies and organises the Church (*Eph.* iv. 15). To the Church He grants the fulness of the attributes of His incarnate life, as He himself embodies the attributes of God (*Eph.* i. 23). The Church is an organism without which Christ deigns to regard himself as incomplete, because without the Church His incarnate life would not be manifested in the world in a way corresponding with the way in which His non-incarnate life was manifested. The Church is also the bride of Christ (*Eph.* v. 25 ff.), willingly devoting herself to Him, and not merely passively depending upon Him. This Church is a visible body guided by ministers, whose authority is expressed in different outward forms. These ministers are organs of the body, and as such are indispensable to the Church (*Eph.* iv. 11; cf. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28).

The teaching of this group of Epistles shows a development which is natural in every religious mind. The man who is justified by faith will naturally go onward to study more deeply the character of Him through whom he is justified and the society which exists for the sanctification of all human life.

The *Epistle to the Hebrews* was probably written by a disciple of St. Paul about 67 A.D. The writer is anxious to confirm the faith of some Hebrew Christians who are in danger of yielding to the attractions of their former religion and deserting Christ. He endeavours therefore to establish the supremacy of Christ and of the Christian dispensation. He differs from St. Paul in that he always regards the Law as typical of the Gospel—'a shadow of the good things to come'; the priests and sacrifices and ritual of Judaism were emblems of spiritual realities which came with Christ. St. Paul hardly ever treats the Jewish system in this way (*see*, however, 1 *Cor.* v. 7 and *Col.* ii. 17). His own religious history disposed him to regard the Law as a bondage.

The doctrine of Christ's person closely resembles the

doctrine in *Ephesians* and *Colossians*. The author shows that Christ is the perfect Mediator in creation, revelation, and redemption; He is superior to the angels, to Moses, and to Joshua. In ch. i. He is declared to be the 'out-shining' of the Father's glory, and the living 'impression' of the Father's substance. The Son is the Agent of God in creation, and this implies no inferiority of nature to the Father, as it is the Son who maintains the universe continually (i. 3). The author applies to Christ passages of the Old Testament which apply to God. The elevation of Christ above the angels is not diminished by the fact that for a little while He was made lower than they, for this was only temporary and was done for a special purpose—the purpose of saving men. Again, Moses is only a stone, as it were, in the house of God, in which house he was permitted to act as God's servant. The Son built the house, and rules over it as Son of God (iii. 3 ff.). Christ is also superior to Joshua, for He provides an eternal Sabbath for the people of God, whereas Joshua only brought Israel into the disturbed tranquillity of Canaan.

But the main efforts of the author are directed to showing the superiority of the Christian sacerdotal system to the sacerdotal system of Aaron and his successors. In the first part of the Epistle strong emphasis is laid upon the true humanity of Jesus. Christ is shown to have been prepared to act as our representative High Priest by His true human probation and suffering. In v.-vii. the nature of this priesthood of Christ is shown. Christ belongs to a higher order of priesthood, represented not by Aaron but by Melchizedek. His priesthood is unlimited by time, just as the story of Melchizedek shows him appearing on the scene of history without any record of his genealogy or birth or death. The Jewish priests were made priests according to the law of a carnal commandment, He according to the power of an indissoluble life; they were mortal and succeeded one another in rapid succession, He is immortal and a priest for ever. Their office rested upon a transitory arrangement, His upon a divine oath. They were sinners, He is separate from sinners.

But although the priesthood of Christ is different from and 'more excellent' than the legal priesthood, it nevertheless fulfils the types of the Law. He has *somewhat to offer*. The oblation which He brings is himself, and this is a *spiritual* oblation in contrast with the external oblation of the blood of bulls and goats. The sacrifice of Christ was external and material, but it was in the truest sense spiritual, because the sacrifice of His body and His blood was the expression of His willing inward obedience to God. He is both Priest and Victim, offering and offered. Lastly, the sacrifice of Christ is *one*, and not repeated. He now only offers himself in the sense that He presents himself on the throne of God in heaven, as the Jewish high priest sprinkled the blood of the victim on God's mercy-seat within the veil. Thus the new Covenant is fully inaugurated, and the whole method of our access to God is changed and consecrated. 'We have an altar' upon earth at which we join in Christ's heavenly offering of himself. Those who adhere to Judaism are excluded from our altar.

The *Epistle to the Hebrews* is intensely theological and intensely practical. The whole exposition of the work and character of Christ is intended to form an appeal to continued faithfulness and a warning against a relapse into Judaism.

The Theology of St. John.—The theology of St. John demands some special consideration apart from the general record which the apostle has given of the teaching of our Lord. His writings belong to a later date than the synoptic Gospels, and in many respects show the result of mature reflection. The conviction that God, 'whom no man hath seen at any time,' had indeed been declared to the world by Jesus has entered into the soul of the evangelist. Like the golden vessel in the holy of holies his heart preserves the memorial of the Manna which had been his food. He finds a phrase which explains both to Jew and Greek the fact that to enter into communion with Jesus is to enter into communion with God himself, and he brings into prominence those passages in our Lord's teaching in which the thought of communion between Christ and the believer is present.

He writes his Gospel according to a settled plan; it is that his readers may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that in believing they may 'have life in his name' (*John* xx. 31). To promote a saving fellowship between men and Jesus is the aim of the book.

While the style of St. John is totally unlike the style of St. Paul, there is much in the spirit of their writings which they manifest in common. We may especially observe the strong insistence upon the fact that the Son of God existed with the Father before He became incarnate, the personal life and work of the Holy Spirit, the mysterious union between the Christian and Christ, the element of triumph which both apostles discern in the death of Christ (*John* xvii. 5; *Col.* ii. 15), the use of the word 'Spirit' to describe the divine nature of Christ (*John* vi. 63; 2 *Cor.* iii. 17), the wrath of God abiding upon the unconverted (*John* iii. 36; *Eph.* ii. 3), the second birth (*John* iii. 3; 2 *Cor.* v. 17; *Tit.* iii. 5), the enjoyment of a new life even in this present world (*John* v. 24; *Col.* iii. 1).

Though there is no trace of imitation in St. John's Gospel, it is plain that both St. John and St. Paul were influenced by the same conception of Christ and Christianity. St. John teaches the doctrine of justification by faith when he records the saying of Christ that the *work* which God requires is to 'believe on him whom he hath sent' (vi. 29). And though St. John rarely uses the word faith, and says little about the Law, he assumes that 'life' cannot be derived from the Law, and he compensates for his rare use of the word faith by his frequent use of the word believe. Nevertheless, there is a distinction in their theology which corresponds with the temperament and the history of the two apostles. The belief of St. John is deeply contemplative, while the belief of St. Paul is intensely enthusiastic. With St. John, 'to believe' is to receive Christ as the complete manifestation of God. It immediately results in an illumination of the mind and the attainment of that knowledge of God which is the highest good. With St. Paul, 'faith' is a personal adhesion to Christ as the Saviour from sin. Whereas they both insist upon the

necessity of our oneness with Christ, St. Paul lays most stress on our believing in Christ's work for the sinner, and St. John on our believing in Christ's relation to the Father. Then also the way in which they represent Christ depends upon their personal history. St. Paul only knew the risen Christ. Hence it was natural that his thoughts should be controlled by the resurrection of Christ, and the crucifixion which led to it. The importance of these two facts in the work of our redemption is therefore emphasised. But St. John, though he represents Christ as 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,' and says that His blood 'cleanseth us from all sin,' seems to regard the death of Christ chiefly as a manifestation of the love of the Father and the Son for man. The resurrection of Christ is chiefly regarded as a means of confirming the disciples' faith, and as a step towards the ascension which made it possible for the Son to send down the Spirit. Therefore, although the doctrine of the Atonement is implied in St. John, and the union between Christ and the Christian is emphasised, and also the spiritual resurrection of the believer in this world, the thought of our dying with Christ and rising with Christ, in the Pauline sense, can hardly be discovered. This is all the more remarkable, inasmuch as St. John represents Christ as commanding before His death that habit of abiding 'in' Him, which St. Paul immediately realised as the essence of Christianity.

In the prologue to his Gospel, St. John gives to our Lord two names which are intended to supplement each other, and to suggest an adequate idea of His person. They are 'Logos' or Word, and 'only-begotten' or unique Son.

St. John's Doctrine of the Word. — The word Logos means both Reason and Word. It was employed in Platonic and Stoic philosophy to describe that orderly and harmonious life which pervades and upholds nature, so that our own reason traces the presence of a kindred Reason in the universe. The Stoics said that this Logos was the Deity, or part of the Deity which had gone forth from Him to form the world. Some held that it divided

itself into a number of germ-words which are the life of the various parts of the universe. The doctrine was taken up and modified by **Philo**, the celebrated Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, about A.D. **40**. His system is equally accommodated to the theories of Greeks who had Oriental tastes, and the theories of Jews who were attracted by Greek culture. Between God (who is too spiritual to be really known by man) and the world (which is too gross to be touched by God himself) Philo places the Logos. This Logos is a being which radiates from out of God and is diffused through the world. It is called the 'Wisdom' of God, and contains within itself God's conceptions and purposes. It is, in fact, God's idea of the world. Philo never loses his Jewish power of picturesque imagination, and so we find that he calls the Logos the first-begotten Son of God, and also the High Priest who represents the world before God, and even the image of God and 'second God.' It is, however, doubtful whether Philo thought that the Logos had a personal and conscious existence; he denies that it is truly God, and he would have utterly scouted the notion that the Logos could take a material human body.

Although this theory is more Greek than Hebrew, it had been to some extent anticipated by the Jews. In the *Book of Proverbs* 'Wisdom' is represented as co-eternal with God, and rejoicing with Him at the creation. The *Book of Wisdom*, which was probably written by an Alexandrian Jew in the second century B.C., personifies the divine Wisdom who is the spotless mirror which reflects the operations of God and is the image of God's goodness. The same book in ch. xviii. 15, speaks of the almighty Word of God as leaping down from heaven to punish the Egyptians.

On the whole, it seems less probable that St. John was influenced by Philo, than that both writers were influenced by the books of *Proverbs* and *Wisdom*.

St. John was also probably familiar with the word *Memra*, which is frequently employed in the Jewish Targums or paraphrases of Scripture. The *Memra*, or Word of God, is simply the personality of God, especially as active in the universe. The Targum of Onkelos in its

paraphrase of *Deut.* xxxiii. 27 says: 'By His Memra was the world created'—a sentence almost identical with *John* i. 10. The strongly personal conception of the Word which appears in this more Oriental Jewish literature is certainly nearer to St. John's teaching than the conception of Philo. A deep chasm exists between the fourth Gospel with its God of love, its Logos who was in eternal intercommunion with God and became flesh and redeemed mankind, and Philo with his abstract divine 'Being,' his Logos who is perhaps only a group of ideas, his morbid dislike of matter, and his theory of salvation by speculation. St. John indulged in no fanciful subtlety. He had lived with Jesus, and had become convinced that Jesus and God are inseparable, and that the worship of Jesus is the worship of God. And he chose for Jesus the one and only title which informed both Jew and Gentile that his Master was the perfect message of God to man, and that the person who shows us the way to God is God himself.

St. John's Doctrine of the only-begotten Son.—If St. John had only said that the divine Logos dwelt in the human nature of Jesus, he would have seemed to sanction the theory that the divine element in Christ had no personal subsistence. His readers might have supposed that the Logos was only a quality of a universal Father, found equally in Jesus and in all men. But St. John balances the word Logos with the phrase only-begotten Son, and so protects it from misinterpretation. By itself, the phrase only-begotten Son might be misleading. It might suggest that the divine Fatherhood is to be understood in a crude anthropomorphic sense, and that the Son is not eternal like the Father. But as the apostle has already explained that he is speaking of the eternal spiritual Reason of God, he goes on to speak of this Reason as the 'Son.' By using this term, he shows that the Logos has a distinct personality derived from the Father, and is in perfect moral communion with the Father. The Word is the manifestation of the intellectual life of God, passing out from the Father and returning to the Father with conscious love. St. John therefore teaches that there are within the Godhead activities

which make it possible for God to have lived from eternity that moral life which He calls us to imitate. The Father is love from all eternity, and filial submission to His love is not something which began when man was created, but an eternal fact in the complex life of God.

St. John's Gospel is a narrative of the manifestation of this eternal Sonship as it *tabernacled* among men. Jesus knows the Father in virtue of that life which He lived with the Father before He took human flesh. He was the object of this Father's love before the foundation of the world. He shared His glory, and reveals it to the eye of faith while dwelling upon earth. Even the Passion of Christ (xii. 23) is a stage in the increase of His glory. It is morally glorious, it is an exhibition of the eternal love and power of God which will be rewarded by the love and reverence of men. It is part of the peculiar attraction of this Gospel that it sees nothing incongruous in the fact that the Word himself sat weary by the well at Samaria, wept at the grave of Lazarus, was consoled by a human friend, and in dying remembered a human mother.

Christ in the Apocalypse.—The Apocalypse is said by Irenæus to have been written in the time of Domitian, about A.D. 93 to 96. Internal evidence strongly confirms this, and while certain parts of the book contain indications of an earlier date, these indications only point to the fact that St. John in extreme old age edited various visions in one united volume. The doctrine of Christ's person agrees closely with that in St. John's Gospel. He is called the Word of God, and receives perpetual adoration in heaven. It is plain that worship of the Logos is regarded as worship of God. His eternity is stated in the majestic name 'Alpha and Omega.' He is 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords.' In His wounded humanity, He, 'the Lamb, as it had been slain,' is present on the throne of God. His Passion is an episode of victory, for He leads His armies in a vesture dipped in blood. The writer who had walked with Him on earth falls prostrate as though dead when he sees Him in the glory of heaven.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE FROM A.D. 90 TO A.D. 180

General Characteristics of the Period.—The Church spread rapidly through the more accessible parts of the Roman Empire, and at the close of this period was firmly established in Rome, Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, Lyons, Ephesus, and Edessa. While Christianity won a great number of converts among the pagans, the Jews opposed it with increasing hostility, and the second destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 135 widened the division between Christianity and Judaism. The Gentile Christians, after a severe struggle, were successful in repressing the teaching of the **Gnostics**, or 'men of knowledge,' who attempted to combine Christianity with pagan mythology and pagan philosophy. This struggle caused more stress to be laid upon certain particular aspects of Christian truth, and also taught the Christians to make use of various theological phrases which had been used in a pagan sense by the Gnostics. The Church consequently began to fight paganism with some of its own weapons.

The Christians throughout assumed that the sayings of the Lord, the traditions derived from the apostles, and the Jewish scriptures were the ultimate authority in questions of doctrine. This threefold authority was unique and inalienable. The manner in which it was to be interpreted in order to meet present wants was one of the great problems which the Church of this period faced and answered. The answer was given by insisting upon three great tests of truth.

1. The teaching of the apostles was summed up in a

creed which was taught to every candidate for Christian baptism. A fixed baptismal creed, similar to our present Apostles' Creed, was certainly in use at Rome about A.D. 140, and was probably in use at the beginning of that century. The Church in Asia Minor used a similar creed. The various Churches were convinced that their creeds contained an implicit refutation of heresy.

2. A selection of genuine Christian writings was made, and the writings thus selected were named the 'New Testament,' the Jewish scriptures being called the 'Old Testament.' The four Gospels were set apart from all others, and to these Gospels various collections of apostolic writings were added. Books which did not agree with the tradition of the Church were excluded from the New Testament.

3. The bishop, as the chief office-bearer of each Christian community, was required to testify to the true apostolical tradition preserved in his Church and handed down from the days when that Church was founded. Great stress was therefore laid upon the 'apostolical succession' of the bishops and clergy. The bishops were the custodians of the truth by virtue of that gift which they received from God with the laying on of hands.

Another characteristic of this period is to be found in the *Apologies* which were written by Christians in order to defend the doctrines and the morals of the Christian Church. The oldest of which we possess clear knowledge were written in A.D. 125. Some description of the theology of the Apologists will be given in the next chapter. Their writings contain a most valuable account of the popular paganism of the second century, and undoubtedly showed where it was most vulnerable.

Judaistic Christianity.—After the writings contained in the New Testament, the most important Jewish Christian document is the *Didache*, or 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' published to the modern world in 1883. It is a church-manual belonging to a section of the primitive Church. It was probably written in Palestine before A.D. 100. It is marked by an archaic simplicity and by a conception of Christianity which is

less wide and deep than that contained in any book of the New Testament. One striking proof of an early date is the fact that side by side with a localised ministry there exists an order of itinerant prophets as in *Eph.* iv. 11, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28.

Christ is called there the Son of God and the God of David and also the Servant or Child of God. In the baptismal formula we find God represented as 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' Through Christ we receive life, knowledge, faith, and immortality. Directions are given for the celebration of the Eucharist, 'a spiritual food and drink,' given to us through God's Child. The 'Church' is mentioned and schism condemned. Fasting on the fourth and the sixth day of the week is commanded. The 'world-deceiver' or Antichrist is expected to appear 'as a son of God,' and the tone of certain passages suggests that the end of the world is thought to be not far distant. The 'Kingdom' of God is regarded as a future state into which the Church is to be gathered.

During the lifetime of the apostles the tendency to deliberately Judaise the Church was kept in check, but when they were all dead, a number of Hebrew Christians refused to amalgamate with Gentile Christianity. Their history is involved in much obscurity, but it appears most probable that these Judaising Christians left the Church after the death of Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, about A.D. 104. The first clear account of these sectaries is given by Justin Martyr, who wrote between A.D. 150 and A.D. 160. He describes a sect of Judaising Christians who regard the observance of the law of Moses as necessary to salvation, and hold no fellowship with Gentile Christians. This sect appears to be identical with a party which, Justin says, confesses that Jesus was the Messiah, but believes that He was only human and not divine. Justin describes other Jewish Christians who are circumcised and keep the law of Moses, but do not regard the law as binding on Gentile Christians. It is almost certain that the latter party believed in the divinity of Christ.

These Jewish Christians, who were willing to live

with Gentiles and believed that Jesus was truly divine, represented the Christianity of St. James and his friends. They appear to have called themselves Nazarenes. The other Jewish Christians, who held opinions similar to modern Unitarianism, were called Ebionæans or Ebionites, *i.e.* 'the poor.' Both the names Ebionite and Nazarene date from very primitive times (*Matt.* v. 3; *Acts* xxiv. 5), but we have no reason to believe that Ebionite opinions are as old as the time of the apostles.

Various writers from the end of the second century until the end of the fourth century give us details about these Jewish Christians. Irenæus, Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius are the most important of these writers. Even the Ebionites became divided among themselves: some retained a belief that Jesus was born of a virgin, while others invented the theory that He was born of a human father like any ordinary man. Among orthodox Jewish Christian writings of the second century we must reckon the *Dialogue* of Ariston of Pella, a controversial treatise against the Jews. We have also fragments of an Ebionite 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' an apocryphal work which is a mixture of the narrative of our Gospels with various legends.

In addition to the Ebionites and Nazarenes there was a Jewish Christian sect which showed the same characteristics as the false teachers rebuked by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians. These Essene Ebionites, as they are now generally called, were circumcised, and kept the Sabbath like the other Ebionites. They also ridiculed St. Paul. But they differed from the other Ebionites in eating vegetables only, and in declaring that the sacrificial system of the Old Testament was not ordained by God. They believed that Christ was a great angel, higher than all other created beings. One of their sacred books was said to be a revelation given in the time of Trajan to a man named Elkesai. They also invented a number of legends about St. Clement of Rome, which unfortunately passed into Catholic circles, and after undergoing some alterations were believed to be genuine, and did a great deal to build up the authority of the bishops of Rome.

The Nazarenes became gradually mingled with the Syriac-speaking Christians of Palestine. The Ebionites continued to exist for a long time in Palestine and Arabia, and it was chiefly from them that Muhammad derived his teaching. The detestation which the Moslems have for Christianity shows us what a prophetic insight St. Paul had into the true character of his Judaising opponents.

Catholic Gentile Christianity.—The strictly theological Catholic writings of this period are the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (A.D. 97), the Epistle of Barnabas (? A.D. 98), the seven Epistles of Ignatius (A.D. 110), the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians (A.D. 110), the fragments of the Expositions of Papias (A.D. 130), the Shepherd of Hermas (A.D. 140), and the so-called Second Epistle of Clement (? A.D. 140).

The Catholic faith itself is clearly set forth in the Roman baptismal creed of this period :—

'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, His Son, the only-begotten, Who was born of a Virgin, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, on the third day rose from the dead, ascended into the heavens, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, whence He cometh to judge the living and dead. And in the Holy Ghost, and the Resurrection of the flesh.'

The exact date of some of the remaining clauses of the creed is doubtful, but the words 'holy Church' and 'forgiveness of sins' were probably recited in the creed during part of the second century.

While the theology of the Catholic writers is marked by considerable variations of thought and expression, they show a close agreement as to the main articles of the Christian faith. A clever attempt has been made to prove that the early Christians held two fundamentally different conceptions as to the person of Christ, one party believing that He was only a man to whom the Holy Spirit was given, and that He was afterwards adopted by God and made semi-divine, the other party believing that He was a heavenly Spirit who took flesh and then returned to heaven. This

theory may be compared with Baur's theory that the primitive Church contained two parties which differed fundamentally with regard to the observance of the Mosaic law. But just as there is no proof that any of the apostles insisted that Gentile converts should observe the law, so there is no proof that any members of the early Church denied that Christ existed in heaven before He appeared on earth.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* was probably written by a converted Jew of Alexandria, but is anti-Jewish in tone. The view of Christ is a high view. He is in a unique sense the *Son of God*, the *Beloved*, and the Child or Servant of God. He is the Son 'not of man, but of God.' He was 'Lord of the whole world' at the creation, and 'the prophets receiving grace from Him prophesied concerning Him.' He 'came in the flesh,' for if He had not assumed human flesh men could not have looked upon Him, any more than they can endure to gaze upon the rays of the sun. A propitiatory character is attributed to His death. He 'desired so to suffer' that we might be cleansed 'through the blood of His sprinkling.' 'He could not suffer except for our sakes.' He is the 'future Judge of quick and dead.' He has 'renewed us in the remission of sins, so that we should have the soul of children.' This renewal takes place in 'the baptism which bringeth remission of sins.' The author closely connects faith with hope, and teaches that we are under 'the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ,' this law being 'free from the yoke of constraint.' We Christians are 'children of gladness.'

The real beauty of much that is said in this Epistle is somewhat marred by the author's extreme antagonism to Judaism and his strange idea that the Jews were wrong in giving a literal interpretation to the ceremonial commands of the Jewish Law.

St. Clement, bishop of Rome, is one of the most interesting figures of the early Church. His letter was written to restore order in the Church of Corinth, where the laity had been quarrelling with their presbyters, or 'overseers' as they are still called. Clement writes in a sober and moderate tone, but he insists strongly upon

the principle of Apostolical Succession, and his statements imply that the Jewish threefold ministry of high-priest, priest, and Levite is reflected in the threefold ministry of the Christian Church. Although he does not use the word 'overseer' in the sense of bishop, the position which he occupied at Rome and the tone of his directions combine to prove that he believed in an episcopal system of Church government.

Clement's theology is comprehensive though not profound. It unites various elements of apostolic teaching in a manner which would have been impossible if the apostolic band had been divided into the two camps which have been depicted by modern sceptics. Clement uses the phrase 'justified by faith,' but he is anxious that good works should be strenuously maintained, for we are under 'the yoke of the loving-kindness' of Christ. He asserts that 'the Lord Jesus Christ liveth,' and mentions His name together with the name of the Father and of the Holy Spirit. He speaks of the sufferings of Christ as the sufferings of God. He is 'our High-priest and Guardian.' He is called Lord, and it is said that He 'hath given His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh and His life for our lives.' It should be observed that although Clement firmly believes in the Divinity of Christ, he does not hesitate to call Him by the title 'Beloved Child' or 'Beloved Servant.' We are therefore justified in saying that the early Christians did not, when they used that title, mean that Christ was only an exalted man.

The old Homily which is incorrectly called the *Second Epistle of Clement* teaches similar doctrine. It says, 'We ought to think concerning Jesus Christ as concerning God, as concerning the Judge of quick and dead.' The pre-existent divine nature of Christ is called 'Spirit' in contrast with His 'flesh' or human nature—'Christ the Lord who saved us, being at first Spirit became flesh and thus called us.' The practice of calling the divine nature of Christ 'Spirit' is found in the New Testament (*John* vi. 63 ; 1 *Cor.* xv. 45 ; 2 *Cor.* iii. 17, and probably *Rom.* i. 4). It is found in Athana-

sius, although in his time this use of the word was rare. In writers of the second century this was very common,[1] and it has led many modern critics into the mistake of thinking that these ancient writers made a confusion between the second and the third persons of the Trinity. The author of 2 *Clement* has a strong idea of the earnestness of the Christian life. He calls it 'the contest of incorruption,' *i.e.* the contest which has an immortal reward, and he says 'if we cannot all be crowned, let us at least come near to the crown.' The writer considers it impossible to serve both God and Mammon, and necessary for all to 'keep their baptism pure and undefiled.' In insisting upon the necessity of good works the author makes some statements which seem to depart from the spirit of the New Testament. 'Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving than both.' On the other hand, he sharply rebukes the spirit of 'merchandise' which seeks for an immediate recompense from God for its righteousness.

St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, wrote seven letters shortly before his martyrdom at Rome in 110. While the tone of these letters is emotional and enthusiastic, the theology is well-reasoned and highly developed. Ignatius desired to warn his readers against certain tendencies to Judaism which he had observed in Asia Minor, and also against some Docetic theories which represented that the human life and suffering of Christ were unreal, as though He were too sacred to share our lot. The completeness of the theology of Ignatius is largely the result of this double attack upon the Christian religion.

The doctrine of Ignatius is that 'God appeared in human form unto newness of eternal life.' Christ is 'our God.' He was 'with the Father before the ages' timeless, invisible, and unbegotten, *i.e.* He did not derive life from His Father in the same way as men derive life from their fathers. Ignatius is quite convinced that the Son is God, and yet he confidently says

[1] Hermas, v. *Sim.* 6; Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. 1, 2; Theophil. *ad Autol.* ii. 10; Tert. *Apol.* 21.

that 'there is one God, who manifested himself through Jesus Christ.' The Son took true human flesh, and therefore we worship 'one only Physician, of flesh and of Spirit, generate and not generate, God in man, true Life in death, Son of Mary and Son of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord.' The Son is called the Word as in the Gospel of St. John, and in the manner of St. John Ignatius says, 'I wish for the bread of God which is the flesh of Christ.' The fact that Christ was miraculously born is asserted in the plainest way, for Ignatius puts side by side 'the virginity of Mary, and her child-bearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord.' He lays stress upon the indwelling of Christ in the Christian; Jesus Christ is 'our true living,' 'our inseparable life.'

If we had no remnant of the age which came after the death of the apostles except these letters, it would be almost impossible to doubt that the apostles held those doctrines which we find in the writings which bear the names of St. Paul and St. John.

Ignatius in maintaining the unity of the faith does everything in his power to preserve the unity of the Church. He regards the episcopate of what he calls the 'Catholic Church' as the guarantee of the Church's visible unity. He is the earliest writer known to us who uses the word 'episkopos' or 'overseer' no longer as the title of a presbyter but as the title of the highest order in the Christian ministry. He speaks of bishops as 'established in the farthest parts of the earth,' and his statements with regard to them are one of the strongest proofs that the apostles created a permanent order of ministers to govern the local presbyters and deacons. He regards a valid ministry as essential to the existence of a Church. 'Apart from these (*sc.* bishop, presbyters, and deacons) there is not even the name of a Church.'

St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom in **155 or 156.** Of his letters, that to the Philippians alone survives, but a full account of his martyrdom and a true index to his opinions is found in an epistle written immediately after his death by the Christians of Smyrna. Polycarp remembered St. John, he received from Ignatius

an epistle which still exists, and he taught Irenæus. He is therefore the most important link between the age of the apostles and the date when the Church emerges into the clear daylight of history. His letter is very simple, and abounds in quotations from St. Paul's Epistles. He shows the same horror as Ignatius towards the tendency to deny the real manhood of Christ. Christ is called 'our Lord and God' and 'the eternal High-priest.' His atonement, example, and future judgment are mentioned. It is important to notice that although Polycarp was the disciple of St. John, he delights in the teaching of St. Paul. His letter, like the letter of Clement of Rome, shows no trace or recollection of any fundamental opposition between the different apostles, and the simplicity of the document makes any idea of a pious fraud entirely ridiculous.

The letter of the Smyrnæans on the martyrdom of Polycarp is a writing of the utmost dignity and pathos. It is historical and not doctrinal, but contains some passages of great doctrinal importance. The dying words of Polycarp therein recorded show a clearly defined belief in the Holy Trinity. 'I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High-priest, Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory both now and ever and for the ages to come. Amen.'

The Smyrnæans in worshipping Christ did not regard Him as a deified or saintly man. They expressly distinguish their worship of Christ from their reverence for the saints. 'For Him, being the Son of God, we adore, but the martyrs as disciples and imitators of the Lord we cherish as they deserve.' Like Ignatius, whose writings this letter somewhat resembles, the Christians of Smyrna speak of 'the Catholic Church throughout the world,' of which Church Christ is the Shepherd.

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, was another disciple of St. John. Only a few fragments of his writings remain. From a doctrinal point of view they are important for two reasons. (1) Papias interpreted the story of the six days of creation and of Paradise 'spiritually,' *i.e.* he apparently thought that they contained an allegorical account of the

Church ; (2) He believed that after the general resurrection Christ will reign with the saints upon the earth and the Kingdom of God will come, creation being renewed and the fruits of the earth becoming extraordinarily productive. Jerome calls this 'a Jewish tradition of the Millennium,' but the tradition is also connected with such Christian sources as *Rev.* xx. 4 and *Rom.* viii. 19.

The Shepherd of Hermas is an important work written by a Roman Christian about 140. The book is marked by a desire for the moral improvement of the Church, and at the same time its severity is tempered by rules which admit the possibility of a new admission to Church privileges after *one* serious fall. Hermas teaches that penitence does remove sins committed after baptism, that the gravest sins may be forgiven, but that this penitence, which implies a certain routine, must take place only once.

The teaching of Hermas with regard to the Holy Trinity is not very clear, and it has been asserted that he does not believe in the Trinity at all, but in two divine persons, viz., the Father and the Holy Ghost. It has also been asserted that he taught the 'Adoptionist' theory of Christ's person, namely, that Jesus was a mere man upon whom the Holy Ghost descended at His baptism, so that He became an 'adopted' Son of God. This is then alleged to be a truer form of Christian doctrine than we find in Ignatius and Polycarp, and so the *Shepherd of Hermas* is quoted in order to throw doubt upon the historical character of the Catholic faith.

All these assertions rest upon a complete misconception. Hermas is not an Adoptionist at all. He says nothing about any exaltation of Jesus at His baptism, and so far from teaching that He was a man who became half-divine at His baptism, Hermas teaches that the 'Son of God' existed before the creation of the world, was the Counsellor of the Father at the creation, and upholds the world.[1] The modern misunderstanding concerning Hermas has been caused by the fact that he calls the divine nature of Christ 'Spirit,' and in a somewhat clumsy

[1] v. *Sim.* 6 ; ix. *Sim.* 12 and 14.

parable represents God the Father as the master of a vineyard, Christ as the master's servant, and the Holy Ghost as the master's son. Clumsy as the parable is, it is enough to prove that Hermas believed that there were three Persons in the Godhead. And the respect felt for this book by ancient Catholic writers, including Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, is enough to prove that the early Church regarded the book as orthodox.

Gnosticism.—The existence of Gnosticism is a strong proof that in the second century the Christian religion was attracting the attention of the heathen world. Gnosticism can scarcely be called a creed. It was a half-religious, half-speculative movement which tried to combine pagan philosophy and mythology with Christian tradition and worship. But though their tenets were very shifting, the Gnostics were generally agreed as to the following points :—

1. The supreme God is distinct from the Creator of the world.
2. The God of the Jews is not the supreme God.
3. The material world is evil and the redemption of man requires his release from matter.
4. Since matter is evil, Jesus Christ had not a true human body.

These tenets suggest the answer to two great problems which the Gnostics faced : (*a*) the problem of creation ; how can a spiritual Being be the Creator of matter? (*b*) the problem of the existence of evil ; how can God be credited with permitting sin ? and how can deliverance from sin be attained ?

It was inevitable that a system which struck such a blow at the fundamental principles of Christianity should be strenuously opposed by the Church. The Catholics soon found that it was more necessary to oppose Gnosticism than to oppose Judaism. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and others devoted much of their energy to this task, with the result that Christianity was saved from becoming a dilettante mixture of popular beliefs and ceremonies.

The origin of Gnosticism.—Behind the Greek forms which Gnosticism generally assumed, there are many Oriental elements. Modern investigation is making it more and more evident that these elements are partly Persian and partly Babylonian, although they are greatly modified and confused. The *Persians* were of Aryan race, and their religion was originally akin to that of the oldest Aryan inhabitants of India. They professed the Magian religion, which is preserved for us in the book called the Zend-Avesta and is retained in a modified form by the Parsis. They venerated Zoroaster as their prophet, and reputed works of Zoroaster were circulated in the Greek world. It is probably from the Persians that the Gnostics derived their dualism, *i.e.* the theory that good and evil are almost equally matched, and that the contrast between them is caused by the fact that there is an evil God as well as a good God. The *Babylonians* were a mixed race, partly Turanian and partly Semitic. Their religion was also mixed and had an elaborate system of worship. It was intimately connected with astrology, and the modern divisions of the Zodiac are of ancient Babylonian origin. The Babylonian religion not only influenced that of Persia but actually survived until after the birth of Christ. Many traces of it still remain in the religion of the Mandaites, a dwindling sect which is to be found on the Euphrates. The later Babylonians taught that after death the soul would have to travel through seven gates before it appeared in the highest heaven. These seven gates were watched by the gods of the seven planets, and it appears that the Archons whom some Gnostics were taught to propitiate are simply these planet-gods. The chief end of the 'Gnosis' of some of the Gnostics was to be able to repeat the proper pass-words to the heavenly Archons. The 'Sophia' or Wisdom, who was a potent spirit among the Gnostics and was believed by some Gnostics to have created the heavens, is the Babylonian Istar, the Queen of heaven. The Mandaites call Istar the Holy Spirit. The Gnostic story of her fall from heaven is probably derived from the old Babylonian story of her descent into the under-world to free the dead.

The Gnostic Sects.—The Fathers of the Church speak of Simon Magus as one of the founders of Gnosticism. There is evidently a true basis for their belief. Samaria was the home of a mixed population and open to Oriental influences, and the Syrian Gnostics, such as Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Cerdo, and Bardesanes, show a strong Babylonian influence. Simon taught that a divine female shared in the work of creation, and he identified her with a woman named Helen who was his own companion. Bardesanes, who was born in 154, taught that there was a divine 'Mother' and seven Archons who created the world. He was a learned philosopher and a charming poet and the best Syriac writer of his age. Cerdo maintained that there were two Gods—the evil God who created the world, and the good God revealed by Christ. Saturninus regarded the God of the Old Testament as good, but inferior to the supreme God. Both denied the reality of Christ's human nature, Saturninus reducing it simply to the level of an apparition. And we may say of Gnosticism in general that it did not believe in any *life* of Christ. The Gospel story was interpreted not as a history but as a series of allegorical pictures of the relations between God and the world. The work of Christ was generally regarded as simply an appearance which so enlightens a man that he frees himself by accepting the 'mysteries' and practising extreme asceticism. In a hymn which was used by a Gnostic sect called the Naasenes, Jesus thus describes His work :—

> Having the seals I will descend,
> Through whole worlds I will journey,
> All mysteries I will open,
> And the forms of gods I will show;
> And the secret things of the holy way,
> Having called them knowledge, I will impart.

The seals are possibly the sacraments, and Jesus imparts the Gnosis which enables the soul to find its path beyond the regions occupied by the inferior gods.

In the third century a most elaborate form of Oriental Gnosticism was taught by **Mani** or Manichæus, a native of Babylon, who began to preach in the time of Sapor I.,

King of Persia, and died in 276. The best information about his doctrine has been preserved by Arabic writers, and it proves conclusively that Mani endeavoured to combine elements of Buddhism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism with the old religion of Babylon. The reality of Christ's manhood is denied, the goddess Istar appears as the mother of life, and a sharp distinction is made between the 'elect' believers who devote themselves to an ascetic life and the 'hearers' who live in the world. The sect spread far and wide and had numerous adherents in Rome.

The Gnostics of Egypt generally looked upon the supreme God as an absolute and unknown abstraction. The great leaders of this school were **Basilides** and **Valentinus.** The former claimed to possess secret traditions derived from St. Peter, and the latter claimed to possess similar traditions derived from St. Paul. The Valentinians became divided into two sects, one Italian and the other Oriental. On the whole, we may say that the Gnosticism of Egypt shows the influence of Greek paganism and of Christianity more strongly than the Gnosticism of Syria. The dualism is not so prominent. Both Valentinus and Basilides apparently believed in one God and gave a very inferior position to the Archons and the emanations who were the thoughts of God, or, as some said, spirits that came out of God. And Valentinus, instead of dividing all mankind into those who had Gnosis and must inevitably be saved and those who had no Gnosis and could not possibly be saved, admitted the existence of a middle class who might be saved in time.

It is difficult to determine what Basilides really taught. According to Irenæus and other writers he believed in seven great emanations from God and 365 lower spirits, and the disciple was obliged to learn the names of all these angelic beings. But according to Clement of Alexandria, Basilides held a Pantheistic view of God, holding that there were no emanations from God but that He created a world-seed from which all future growths developed. This involves an elaborate theory of evolution, and reminds us of the teaching of some of the Stoic philosophers. It seems most likely that the followers of

Basilides adopted the views of other Gnostic sects, and that Basilides himself held the opinions attributed to him by Clement.

Gnostic influence on the Church.—Modern opponents of Christianity have stated that the Christian Church was greatly influenced by Gnosticism, accepting from it the ritual employed in the services of the Church, the use of allegory in the interpretation of Scripture, the idea that the sacraments convey God's assistance to the soul, and even the doctrine that there are two natures in Christ, one human and one divine. Such statements are gross exaggerations, although it is true that for a time some Christian writers who lived amid Gnostic surroundings were infected with Gnosticism. Little, if any, of the ritual of the Church seems to have been derived from the Gnostics. The use of allegory had been anticipated by Philo and St. Paul. In the New Testament the sacraments are represented as communicating the life of Christ to the believer, and the existence of two 'forms' or natures in Christ is plainly stated (*Phil.* ii. 6, 7). Gnosticism helped the Christians to express their faith more clearly. Its influence was therefore important, although it was negative. It compelled the Christians to reflect and questioned them until they learnt to make effective answers. A few theological terms which had been used by the Gnostics, such as the word *homo-ousios* (of one substance), were adopted by the Catholics, but only in order to give a formula to the facts which they had long believed.

Marcion.—This great heretic left the Church about **144**. His system is half Gnostic and half Catholic. Under the influence of the Gnostic Cerdo he adopted a dualistic belief. He taught that the God of love revealed by Christ is different from the God of justice who made the world. Consistently with this view of creation, Marcion denied that Christ's manhood was real, denied the resurrection of the body, and insisted upon an extreme asceticism. He maintained that the original apostles had been too much infected with Judaism to understand Christ, while St. Paul had realised the full truth. Marcion therefore rejected all the New Testament

except ten Epistles of St. Paul and the Gospel written by St. Luke, the friend of St. Paul. But as he found that the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel teaches that Christ did undergo a human birth, and that St. Paul's writings do not always oppose the Law, he rejected certain passages both in St. Luke's Gospel and in St. Paul's Epistles. The Fathers of the Church wrote against Marcion as against a most dangerous enemy. But the evil done by Marcion has been over-ruled for good, inasmuch as the use which Marcion made of the New Testament has not only given us a strong proof of the authenticity of the writings which he accepted, but in some cases even supports the genuineness of the writings which he repudiated.

Marcion differed from the Gnostics in three particulars: (1) He insisted upon the need of faith rather than knowledge; (2) He did not explain the Old Testament allegorically, but literally, and rejected it as a mere revelation of the secondary God who made the world; (3) He founded organised churches, and was not content with forming little societies of 'spiritual' persons. He gave the same teaching to all alike, making no distinction between 'spiritual' people and the people who had no 'knowledge.' This contributed to the power and popularity of Marcionism, and it became so strong that when Marcion repented of his heresy he was unable to bring back his adherents to the Catholic Church, and the sect still lingered in the seventh century.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOLOGISTS—MONTANISM—IRENÆUS AND TERTULLIAN

The Apologists.—During the second century the interest taken by various emperors in all matters of philosophy or religion tempted many thoughtful converts to Christianity to write apologies for their faith. Some of these treatises have perished, but we possess the *Apology of Aristides* addressed to Hadrian in **125** (or possibly to Antoninus Pius), the two *Apologies* of Justin Martyr, one addressed to Antoninus Pius about **152**, the other addressed a little later to the Roman Senate and less directly to Marcus Aurelius, his *Dialogue with Trypho a Jew* written about **155**, Tatian's *Discourse to the Greeks* about **160**, Athenagoras's *Plea for the Christians* about **177**, and Theophilus's treatise *To Autolycus* about **180**. The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix was perhaps written in the second century, but may be later. It is in the Latin language, but in spirit closely agrees with the writings of the Greek Apologists. Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, the great writers who defended the faith at the end of the second century, represent a later development of thought and must be considered separately.

The intention of the Apologists was to present Christianity in such a form as to remove all suspicions against the morality and the loyalty of Christians, and thus to secure toleration, and, if possible, converts. Their views were influenced by the philosophy of the day, and they depict the Christian faith as a true and simple moral philosophy revealed by God through Jesus Christ. In opposition to the philosophy of the 'Hellenes' (a word which was already becoming synonymous with 'pagans')

they extol what they call 'the barbaric (*i.e. non-Hellenic*) philosophy.' At the same time, the Apologists do not regard the philosophy of the Greeks as entirely false. On the contrary, Justin boldly says, 'Whatsoever things have been said nobly by all men, belong to us Christians.' He regards all truth as one, and the same teaching is found very plainly in Minucius Felix and Clement.

The Doctrine of God the Father in the Apologists.—The Apologists regard God the Father as the Creator, Designer, and Lawgiver of the universe. In opposition to Gnosticism and some forms of paganism, the Source of physical life is represented as the Source of moral truth. Sometimes the idea of God is inclined to be shadowy and abstract, and seems to be in contact with the Neo-Platonic doctrine that God is 'beyond intelligence and being.' The reason for this tendency is obvious. The Apologists are strongly protesting against the popular pagan worship and mythology, and this worship was offered to gods 'of like passions with ourselves.' They show us that Greek art had been used to glorify scenes and persons of the foulest character. In hatred of such anthropomorphism the Apologists occasionally use almost Agnostic language. Justin declares that in himself God is nameless, for it would be blasphemous to limit by a name a God who has no more ancient being from whom to receive a name. He apparently thinks that the Father cannot come into immediate contact with the world. Minucius Felix shows an equally decided dislike of limiting God by names. But both these and other Apologists do attach a real meaning to the Fatherhood of God. Aristides is content with saying that God is 'immortal and without needs, above all passions . . . unchangeable and invisible.'

The Doctrine of the Logos in the Apologists.—This doctrine is of the highest importance. It was elaborated for two purposes: (*a*) In order to give a convincing reason for the Christian worship of Jesus Christ; (*b*) In order to show how the unseen God acts upon the material world. Thus it is asserted that Jesus is that divine Word who is an epitome of the consciousness of God, He is the expression of God's own thought. This

divine Word was not created, He is identical in essence with God. When Tatian calls him 'the first-begotten work of the Father,'[1] the context shows that he uses the word 'work' in the sense of product or expression. Through this Word the Father maintains the life of the world and reveals himself to the world. Justin, with his conception of a distant divine Father, denies that it was the Father who appeared to the Jewish patriarchs; it was His Word.

The fact that the Greek term Logos signifies both Reason and Word caused the Apologists to think that there were two distinct stages in the existence of the Son before His incarnation. At first He was 'immanent' in the Father, says Theophilus, then when creation was to begin, He became 'uttered' from the Father.[2] These phrases had been used in Stoic philosophy and were adopted again by Marcellus of Ancyra in the fourth century. On the whole, the Apologists do not keep together the idea of the personality of the Son and the idea of His eternity. They say that He was 'put forth' from the Father, and that He is nevertheless not cut off from God so as to be separate from Him. They say that He was 'begotten by the Father's will,' a phrase which was afterwards perversely used by the Arians to insinuate that the Son was created and not begotten. But their language more than once suggests that the Son was not begotten and was not strictly personal until God intended to create the universe by Him. Nevertheless, the Apologists have no doubt that the Logos is truly divine, and Justin calls Him 'another God,' a phrase obviously open to criticism, but a phrase which certainly was not meant by Justin to teach that there is more than one God.

The unity of nature which exists between the Son and the Father is illustrated in Justin by the simile of a thought and the reason which produces it, and a flame with the fire from which it is derived. Justin thinks that the relation of a ray to the sun is not adequate to illustrate the relation of the Son to the

[1] *Ad Græcos*, 5.

[2] Cf. Tert. *adv. Prax.* 5, where God is called both *rationalis* and *sermonalis*, having first a Thought and then a Word.

Father, but Tatian uses this simile to describe the relation between the Spirit and the Father.[1]

The Apologists employ Trinitarian phrases, *e.g.* Justin speaks of 'the Creator, the Teacher in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third position.' Theophilus is the first known writer who uses the Greek word for 'Trinity.' He speaks of 'types of the Trinity, God, and His Word, and His Wisdom.' Here, as in their allusions to the earthly life of Christ, these writers show themselves in close connection with the tradition of the Church. For instance, both Aristides and Justin assert that Christ was born of a virgin. During the period in which they flourished, the canonical collection of New Testament books was being gradually made. Tatian regarded our four Gospels as the exclusively authentic Gospels. His teacher Justin used all our Gospels, but apparently also quotes from certain Apocryphal Gospels. The exact position which he gave to the latter class of writings cannot be determined.

In conclusion, it should be noticed that modern writers are too prone to criticise the Apologists (*a*) as if they were making a full statement of Christian doctrine; (*b*) as if their writings proved that the creed of the early Church was loose and chaotic.

These criticisms are hardly fair. Writing under the circumstances which then prevailed, the Apologists naturally laid more stress upon certain aspects of Christian doctrine than others; for instance, the Divinity of Christ is explained more carefully than the atonement. Moreover there is a great foundation of unity under these explanations of the faith, although they occur in books which represent not so much the past traditions of the Church as new efforts to meet the needs of the present. And so far as we can trace the official teaching of the Church during this period, it appears to have been of a thoroughly apostolic type. We must seek for this official teaching, not in the apologies of laymen like Justin and Tatian, but in the writings of bishops like Ignatius, Polycarp, and Irenæus.

[1] For similar illustrations see Tertullian, who compares the Father and the Son to a root and its bush, a spring and its stream, the sun and its ray.

Montanism. — About A.D. 157 Montanus, formerly a mutilated priest of Cybele, headed a strange religious revival which has had several parallels during the nineteenth century, more especially among the Irvingites and the Mormons. He pretended to possess the gift of prophecy, and was joined by two women named Prisca and Maximilla who also professed to prophesy. They proclaimed that the reign of the Paraclete, foretold in St. John's Gospel, had now truly arrived, that the heavenly Jerusalem would descend, and that Christ would speedily return. Pepuza in Phrygia was to be the favoured spot chosen for the new city of God.

Montanism spread rapidly through Asia Minor, and from thence to Thrace, Rome, Gaul, and North Africa, where it secured an ardent advocate in the great Tertullian. It is evident that it owed some of its success to the conservative elements which it retained. The Montanists maintained a stringent discipline at a time when merely nominal Christianity was not uncommon. They strongly opposed Gnosticism, which was one of the most serious forces arrayed against the Church. They forbade flight under persecution, and were eager to suffer for the Christian faith. The 'recognition of spiritual gifts,' such as prophecy, a recognition on which the Montanists particularly prided themselves, had not only been common during the apostolic age, but the Catholics of the second century frequently testify to the existence of such gifts in their own day. Why, then, did the Church oppose Montanism? The chief reasons were these:—

(1) The Montanists organised schismatical communities, and treated the Church as a second-rate institution, now superseded. (2) The Montanists held that mortal sin committed after baptism must not be forgiven by the Church, but could only be wiped out by martyrdom. (3) The Montanist prophecy was a 'new prophecy.' It was chiefly on this ground that the Catholics criticised the Montanists. It was new both in matter and in form. The Montanists said that 'the Holy Spirit was in the apostles, but not the Paraclete, and that the Paraclete said more things in Montanus than Christ uttered in the Gospel—and not only more, but even better and greater.'

These sayings were delivered in a state of frenzy. Thus Montanus said that he was in a state of sleep and passive like a lyre when the Lord made him prophesy, and Miltiades, a Catholic opponent of Montanism, affirmed that 'a prophet ought not to speak in an ecstasy.' These ecstatic frenzies led to the wildest blasphemy. Montanus spoke of himself as 'the Father and the Son and the Paraclete,' and Prisca said that Christ had appeared to her in a female form.

Some Montanists came to deny the doctrine of the Trinity. The sect was persecuted by Justinian, and nearly two hundred years later, in A.D. 722, the surviving Montanists burnt themselves alive rather than submit to orthodox baptism.

St. Irenæus.—St. Irenæus became bishop of Lyons, in Gaul, after the martyrdom of his aged predecessor, Pothinus, in 177. Just previously he had visited Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, and consulted him with regard to Montanism. Irenæus is the most important figure in the Church history of the second century. He had known Polycarp, the pupil of St. John, and his testimony to the authenticity of the fourth Gospel and of the synoptic Gospels is of unique value. He was acquainted with Christian life and thought in Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul, and his evidence as to the traditions of the Church therefore rests upon a threefold foundation. His writings are largely directed against Gnosticism, but give us information about other important heresies.

The theology of Irenæus is profoundly Christian. His writings are more imbued with the spirit of the Gospel than those of the Apologists, although he seems to have been influenced by the Apologists. There is much in his books which reminds us of the writings of St. Ignatius and St. John and of the more developed Christology of St. Paul. Opposition to Gnosticism has caused him to reflect upon and define the faith of the Church.

The Doctrine of God in Irenæus.—Against the Gnostics who denied that the Creator is the same as the God revealed in Christ, Irenæus insists that the Creator is the Redeemer. There is one omnipotent God, not two Gods who limit each other's action, or one God with a train of

emanations attached to Him. This one God is an omnipresent, active Spirit; everything originates with Him and is what it is through His will—'the substance of all things is the will of God.'[1] The justice and goodness of God, instead of being incompatible, as Marcion held, involve each other. Man needs communion with this good God. 'For this is the glory of man to persevere and abide in the service of God,' and again, 'the life of man is the vision of God.'

The Doctrine of the Word in Irenæus.—The Son, who is also the Word, 'is ever co-existing with the Father.' He is 'the measure of the Father,' who alone fully knows and reveals the Father. There is an identity of nature between the Father and the Son. The Word is the Creator as truly as the Father is the Creator; it is He who revealed the Father to the angels, and appeared to the patriarchs (so the Apologists). The manner of His generation from the Father cannot be declared by man.

The Word is known to us through the historical life of Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, the new Eve. Why did God thus become man? The answer of Irenæus is clear and unmistakable: 'On account of His boundless love He became what we are, *in order that He might make us what He is himself.*' In Irenæus the doctrine of the incarnation of God is as fundamental as the doctrine of the unity of God. 'Without God we cannot know God.' Christ is the centre of theology, not because He is a Teacher, but because He is both God and Man. 'He united man with God.' Man was destined to resemble God; the development of this resemblance was broken by the fall of Adam, but restored by Christ. Irenæus loves to dwell upon the thought that Christ is the second Adam who 'recapitulates' mankind (cf. *Eph.* i. 10). Jesus Christ is the first who realised the true destiny of mankind in His own person. He is the Teacher who reforms mankind, but He is above all the Giver of incorruptibility, which consists in the sight and the service of God and in a communion with His nature. 'Those

[1] *Adv. Hær.* ii. 30. 9.

who see God partake of life: and therefore the Unseen made himself seen and comprehended and contained by the faithful.'

An attempt has been made to prove that Irenæus, in spite of his vigorous opposition to the Gnostics, borrowed from the Gnostics the theory that Christ had two distinct natures. But the doctrine of Irenæus is quite different from that of the Gnostics. Irenæus is true to the doctrine of St. Paul, who teaches in *Phil.* ii. that Christ, who had from eternity 'the form' or nature of God, condescended to take 'the form' or nature of a slave, and yet remained essentially divine. The Gnostics, on the contrary, denied that Jesus Christ was essentially or truly human. They preferred to say that there was a 'Jesus' who suffered, and that on this Jesus descended a 'Christ' who could not suffer. Irenæus opposes this heresy in the most explicit terms; he declares that Jesus is the Christ, and that Jesus Christ suffered and rose again, and that Jesus Christ is 'truly man, truly God.'

We should finally observe that Irenæus has a distinct conception of the personality of the Holy Spirit, and that he brushes aside the notion of some of the Apologists that the Word was not from all eternity the Son of God.[1] He teaches that the Word is not only eternal, but also eternally personal. His idea of the gradual development of the human race is also remarkable. In fact, Irenæus has a deeper insight into the truths involved in the incarnation than some of his most eminent successors, and the language in which he explains the Christian faith is often as felicitous as it is religious.

Tertullian.—The writings of Tertullian are stepping-stones from the theology of the second century to the theology of the third. His writings extend over thirty years, beginning about **195**. He appears to have been acquainted both with the Greek Apologists and with the Christian doctrine taught in Rome and Asia Minor. He wrote against paganism, Monarchianism (see next chapter), and Gnosticism. He had enjoyed a lawyer's training, and the influence of this training is shown in

[1] *Adv. Hær.* ii. 30. 9.

his practical nature, in his keen arguments, and in his juristic representation of the divine persons of the Trinity and of man's reconciliation with God. He was a thorough Western, interested less in Christian speculation than in Christian life and discipline. The latter fact induced him to welcome the rigid disciplinary rules of the Montanists and to abandon the Catholic Church. He was much influenced by the philosophy of the Stoics, and, like them, speaks of 'nature' and 'reason' as guides of life. He appeals to 'the witness of the soul naturally Christian.' He possessed the same mastery over the strong and fervid Latin of Africa as Luther possessed over the simple and vigorous High German of the sixteenth century. The consequence was that both his dialect and his ideas had an immense influence over Western Christianity.

The Doctrine of the Trinity in Tertullian.—One peculiarity of Tertullian's teaching is that he holds the Stoic doctrine that 'the soul is a body' and the corresponding doctrine that God is in some sense corporeal.[1] Against Marcion he asserts that the same God is both just and good. 'Nothing is so worthy of God as the salvation of man.' Tertullian is the first writer to use the *Latin* word 'Trinity.' He uses the phrases which became so familiar in later theology—'the Unity in Trinity'—'one substance' in which different 'persons' share. Tertullian thinks that the unity of God, the one *dominatio* (*monarchia*) or sovereign power, is secured by the fact that the plenary divine power which is exercised by the Son and the Spirit is derived from the one Father. He is sometimes guilty of speaking of the Son and the Spirit as if they were only administrators temporarily acting for the Father. Such a theory secures neither the doctrine of the Unity nor that of the Trinity. For the doctrine of the Unity is impaired if we regard the Father as delegating His authority, and the doctrine of the Trinity is impaired if we regard the Trinity, not as the life of God, but as an 'arrangement' for the benefit of the world.

The fact seems to be that Tertullian is hampered by

[1] *Adv. Prax.* 7.

his legacy, direct and indirect, from Stoicism and Neo-Platonism.

(*a*) He regards the Son as a delegate of the Father, because the Son is only 'a portion of the Father's substance,' and he calls the Son a 'portion' because he regards the Father as 'the total substance,' *i.e.* a person who has all the divine attributes, some of which cannot enter into a human life.

(*b*) He retains the idea, found in the Apologists, that there were two stages in the existence of the Word before the incarnation. The result is that while he lays peculiar stress on the *Sonship* of the Word, he denies that He was always Son, and represents the Trinity as only a gradual development in the life of the Deity.

In making this criticism I have purposely called attention to the unsatisfactory elements in Tertullian's doctrine. But even here Tertullian displays great genius. If he had only seen with Irenæus and Origen that the Son was from eternity truly Son as well as Word, and had developed his own statements about the unity of the 'Three cohering,' his vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity would have been of the very highest order.

The Doctrine of the Incarnation in Tertullian.—Tertullian expounds the doctrine of the incarnation with such clearness and precision, that when we read his words we might easily imagine that we were reading the statements written by St. Leo in the fifth century. Christ is 'God and man,' and 'we see a double existence (*status*), not confused but joined together, in one person, the God and man Jesus,' and 'the peculiar character (*proprietas*) of each substance was preserved.' One interesting link with earlier writers is to be found in the fact that he uses the word 'Spirit' to signify the Divinity of the Son, and the word 'spiritual' to signify divine. While strongly insisting that Jesus is God and that 'God was crucified,' he carefully denies that there was a 'transfiguration,' or, as we should say, transformation, of the Word into flesh. He took a true human body and true human soul. Tertullian quaintly says that the invisible Father is, 'so to speak, the God of

the philosophers,' but that in Christ 'God was found little, that man might become exceeding great.'

Consistently with his clear view of the two natures in one person, Tertullian brings the atonement into the foreground. He calls the death of Christ 'the whole weight and fruit of Christianity,' and says 'our death could not be destroyed except by the passion of the Lord.' But in spite of the value which he attaches to the sufferings of Christ his idea of the atonement is less rich than that of Irenæus. He does not develop as thoroughly as Irenæus the thought of man being made 'at one' with God through communion with the second Adam, who alone made humanity perfectly acceptable to the Father. Tertullian speaks of men 'making satisfaction to God,' and uses language which suggests the notion of our purchasing forgiveness from God by meritorious actions. It is probable that the less scriptural phrases of this description are merely metaphorical.

CHAPTER V

EARLY ALEXANDRINE THEOLOGY
CONTROVERSY WITH MONARCHIANS

Christianity in Alexandria.—Alexandria had long been one of the most cosmopolitan and most cultured cities in the world. It was the meeting-place of Greek and Egyptian religion, and the writings of Philo (about A.D. 40) show how profoundly some of the Jews of Alexandria were touched by the spirit of Greek philosophy. The foundation of the Christian Church in this city was traditionally ascribed to St. Mark. In any case it is certain that Christianity had a large number of converts there during the first half of the second century, and the popularity of Egyptian Gnosticism proves that there was a general readiness to give paganism a Christian colouring. The necessity for instructing the Christians how to deal with these attractive errors was quickly realised. A school of catechists was formed whose special work it was to devote themselves to a scientific study of theology and show the relationship of Christianity to secular learning. The first leader of this school was a certain Pantænus who had been a philosopher of the Stoic school but of whose life we know little. The desire to utilise and promote the learning of the period was widely spread among the Christians at the close of the second and the beginning of the third century. In Palestine, Rome, and Asia Minor they put forth the same efforts, although their teachers were less eminent than Clement and Origen, who were at the head of the Alexandrine school.

Clement of Alexandria.—Clement appears to have begun to teach about **190.** His style is pure and captivating. He was much influenced both by his Christian predecessors and by Plato. He took in hand the work which had been begun by Justin and some other Apologists. That is, he attempted to show that Christianity is able to satisfy all men who are intellectually and morally in earnest. But he attempted to do the work of the Apologists on a far more magnificent scale than they had attempted themselves. He tried to combine Christian tradition with Greek philosophy in such a way as to present the world with a complete philosophy of religion. That ideal of fellowship with God which was prominent in much of the later Greek philosophy was heightened by Clement, and the attainment of this ideal was promised to those who desired to *know* and *love* God through Christ. Clement agreed with the later Platonists in saying that God might be known by those who freed themselves from the bonds of sense, and he said that the Christians who fear Greek philosophy are 'like children who are afraid of hobgoblins.' We may almost say that what Philo is towards Judaism, Clement is towards Christianity. But we cannot quite say this, for Clement is less visionary and more practical than some of his sayings might lead us to imagine, and the *knowledge* of God which he extols is not a rare, ecstatic rapture, but the joyful confidence of a mind which has been disciplined by the Word of God.

The Doctrine of the Word in Clement.—Clement, after the manner of the Neo-Platonists, regards God the Father as 'beyond being'; we cannot describe Him adequately. But nevertheless He was eternally Father, never without the Son.[1] The Word is 'the beginning, without beginning, of the things that are.' He gave existence to the world. Christianity is the doctrine of the creation, education, and perfection of mankind by the Word. The Word employed two means for instructing men, the law of the old Covenant and the philosophy of the Greeks, which is itself a kind of

[1] *Strom.* v. 1. 1.

Covenant. Clement here advances a step beyond Justin. The latter regards Jewish prophecy as the great positive proof that Christianity is true, Clement uses the whole history of morality and reasoning as the proof of Christianity.

The Word appeared in Christ. 'This Word is the Christ, and was of old the cause both of our being and our well-being, but now this same Word has appeared to men, who alone is both God and man.' It is most important to observe that, in spite of his doctrine of the wise man's approximation to the divine nature, Clement denies that men are 'consubstantial' with God,[1] and sharply distinguishes even a perfect man from God. Christ is the only Man who is God indeed. He is regarded as the Priest who bestows upon man a series of initiations which lead him to perfect union with God. This idea that Christianity unfolds to man a number of precious mysteries which are hidden from the unbelieving is very marked in Clement. Christ not only teaches and initiates, He also forgives. 'He forgives sins as God, and as man instructs us to be free from sin.' 'He wishes us to be saved from ourselves.'

Clement's conception of the incarnate life of Christ is rather Docetic, a proof that Clement was influenced by that dislike of matter which marked the teaching of the Neo-Platonists. He thinks that Christ only ate food in order to show that His body was real, not because He was hungry, and that Christ could not experience the sensations of bodily pleasure and pain.

Origen.—Clement was eclipsed by his great disciple Origen, born about **185**. Origen was one of the greatest philosophers whom the world has ever seen; he was the first great exponent of the Christian Scriptures, and had more influence than any theologian who lived before the time of Athanasius. He travelled far, read deeply, wrote fully. He united the doctrine of the older theologians with the arguments of the Apologists and some of the more important speculations of the Neo-Platonists. His work is essentially comprehensive and intended to unite

[1] *Strom.* ii. 16. 74.

and not to separate. In his school the works of Greek poets and philosophers were studied, only the works of atheists being excluded. In his system he endeavoured to combine the conclusions of all philosophers, except those who had definitely believed that there is no God or that there are many gods. At the same time he was an orthodox Christian at heart. He did not place Greek philosophy on so high a pedestal as Clement had done, and he had a truer conception both of the Scriptures and of our Lord.

Origen on God and His Manifestations.—The Neo-Platonists taught that God is One, an abstract Being from whom proceeds 'Mind' and the world of thought; from 'Mind' comes the soul of the world, in which world the souls of men exist surrounded by matter. Salvation consists in the 'turning to God' through asceticism and ecstatic rapture. It was held by some, as by the modern Hindu philosophers, that the soul which thus unites itself with God actually becomes God himself. This idea of God as the true centre of all things was quite agreeable to the mind of Origen; he found it in harmony with St. Paul's prediction of the time when God should be 'all in all.' But the distinction between the theories of Origen and those of the Neo-Platonists is nevertheless real.

Origen sometimes speaks of God as an abstract Being. He is 'beyond limitation, beyond estimation, beyond sensation,' and even 'beyond being.' But it is plain that Origen does not mean to deny that God is personal. God is declared to be the 'Creator, Preserver, and Governor.' He is 'just and good, the God of the Law and of the Gospel.' In teaching this, Origen opposes the Marcionites, the Gnostics, and the Neo-Platonists. For the Marcionites denied that the same God was both kind and just, the Gnostics universally denied that God created all things, and the Gnostics Basilides and Valentinus agreed with the Neo-Platonists in regarding God as impersonal, without self-consciousness. The very idea of God, according to Origen, implies that He eternally manifests His perfections. He manifests them in the manifold life of the universe of created spirits, both angelic and human, and of the material world.

But the perfections of God are chiefly manifested in the divine Word, through whom God created and still creates the world of spirits, which Origen believes to be eternal. The Word is thus the living link between the *One* and the *manifold*. This resembles the teaching of Philo and the Neo-Platonists, but it is nevertheless distinct from their teaching, for Origen regards the Word as truly personal. He perceives that within God's own life there must be a perfect expression of God's thought, otherwise the perfect Being would not be perfectly productive. The Word is incapable of change, He is incorporeal, He is *consubstantial with the Father*. He is *not a part of the substance of God* but comes from Him *as the will proceeds from the mind*. As the perfect expression of the Father's mind He is (1) the summary of the ideas which God has of the world and (2) the eternal Son of God. Origen expressly denies that we may say that the Son did not always exist, or say that *we* are consubstantial with God.

The begetting of the Son is not an act which has taken place once for all, it is a process which never ends. *The Saviour is ever being begotten.*[1] The process itself cannot be adequately described by human analogies, but is represented as both an act of the Father's will and the result of God's essence being what it is.

Origen uses the word 'Trinity.' He asserts the eternity of the Holy Spirit. He describes the Word as finding his peculiar sphere of action in all rational life, while the sphere of the Spirit is the Church which He sanctifies. He speaks of the Son as less than the Father who begat Him, and the Spirit as less than the Son.[2] This refers to the manner in which the life of the Trinity is unfolded, and does not mean that the Son or Spirit are outside the Godhead in any way. It is worthy of remark that (*a*) Origen does not perceive the function of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Trinity as clearly as He perceives that of the Word; (*b*) Origen seems to anticipate the later doctrine of the Western Church that the Spirit 'proceedeth from the Father *and* the Son.' He says 'The Holy Spirit came into being through the Word.'[3]

[1] Cf. *In Hierem. Hom.* ix. 4; *De Pr.* i. 2. 4.
[2] *De Pr.* i. 3. 5. [3] *In Joh.* ii. 6.

Origen on Redemption.—With regard to the redemption wrought by the Word, Origen says that the Word took a 'human nature.' He therefore calls Christ **God-Man.**[1] Christ became true man with a true body and soul. The Word, the body and the soul make a unity. Nevertheless the Word, although 'within the limitation of that man who appeared in Judæa,' was not deprived of His divine perfections. He continued on the throne of God even during His life on earth. Origen does not hold the Docetic views held by Clement; he asserts that the body and soul of Christ suffered. He speaks strongly of the importance of the atonement. It is not only an example, but a commencement of the destruction of the devil's power. It is also an expiation for sin. Like some other Fathers of the Church, Origen misinterprets *Matt.* xx. 28, and thinks that the ransom paid by Christ was paid to the devil. He even represents the death of Christ as a deception of the devil performed by God, the devil having been permitted to think that he had a right over the human soul of Christ, inasmuch as the human race had succumbed to temptation.

The Christ who suffered and made propitiation as our High-priest, is also 'the Head of all men.' Through Him we became the adopted sons of God, in heaven He continues the work of our purification, He still acts as High-priest, that henceforth 'human nature may become divine through communion with that which is more divine, not only in Jesus, but also in all those who both believe and take up the life which Jesus taught.' The work of atonement extends itself beyond the world of men into the world of spirits. After death, the wicked, and perhaps even the saints, will pass into the 'cleansing fire' of hell. This hell, Origen, like Clement, regards as consisting of the torments of conscience. Finally all spirits, good and evil, will be purged and rescued. Then will be the 'restoration of all things' (*Acts* iii. 21), when everything material and sinful will have ceased to be and God will be truly 'all in all.' According to Origen, the punishment of the wicked, although very long, is in

[1] *De Pr.* ii. 6. 3.

one sense not eternal. God will take from them the sense of shame and anguish. And yet in another sense their punishment may be said to be eternal, for they will not attain to the joy of seeing God face to face.

Origen's writings were most attractive to thoughtful Christians during the third and fourth centuries, and have proved nearly as attractive to modern students. He was not only pious, zealous, and learned. He really perceived that the incarnation, if true, must be the central fact in the history of the world. A philosopher who had only laid stress upon the creative work of the divine Word or Reason would have transformed Christianity into Greek metaphysics. But Origen not only taught men about this creative work, but also taught men to value the human life of Christ in whom God condescends to reveal himself and to show us of what the human spirit is capable. And the language in which Origen expresses his thoughts is sometimes of great beauty, as when he speaks of Christ making 'an impression in our soul after the likeness of His wounds,' and says that 'we are justified by faith, but much more by the blood of Jesus.'

Much of Origen's teaching with regard to the Trinity and the incarnation was agreeable to the mind of the Church, and was retained as a permanent possession. But there are three points which were objectionable and which caused difficulties:—

1. Origen's doctrine of the function of the divine Word in creation seems to imply that the Son is eternal because creation is eternal. If we deny that creation is eternal we should be obliged, on Origen's principles, to deny that the Son is eternal. This was done in the fourth century by the Arians.

2. His psychology implies that the highest element in man, his rational soul, existed from all eternity. The Word united himself with a material body by the medium of an unfallen eternal spirit, which had always obeyed God and chose to become a soul in order to further the work of redemption.

3. The language of Origen is sometimes inaccurate and does not express his real convictions in an adequate manner. Thus, although he is a strong Monotheist, he

speaks of the Son as a 'second God,'[1] and although he plainly asserts the eternal generation of the Son, he calls Him a 'creature.'[2] When he says that the Father and the Son are 'two in *hypostasis*, but one in unanimity and agreement and identity of Will,' he uses words which agree more with Arianism than with Catholicism. But we must remember that it was not until the fourth century that the phrase 'union of will' was perversely used in contradistinction to 'union of essence,' and also that the word 'hypostasis' in Origen is already losing its ancient significance of 'essence' and tending towards the later meaning of 'person.'

Monarchianism and the Fatherhood of God.—The Apologists and Origen had done much to show the reasonable character of the Catholic faith and to vindicate the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. But such expressions as 'second God' naturally aroused suspicions in the minds of men who appreciated the value of monotheism. More than this, some of the most orthodox statements about the eternal personality of the Word seemed to ignorant Christians to imply a belief in two or three Gods. They were unable to conceive that the life of God contains an eternal revelation of the highest moral relationship. So we are told by Tertullian that 'some simple people, not to say foolish and uneducated,' after being brought over from polytheism to believe in one true God, 'assert that we preach two or three gods but pretend that they are really worshippers of one God; they say, *we hold the Monarchia.*'

This word *Monarchia* signifies the 'sole rule' of the first person of the Trinity, and Monarchianism became the most dangerous heresy of the third century. The phrase, 'we hold the Monarchia,' like the modern phrase, 'we are Unitarian Christians,' quietly suggested that Catholic Christianity was polytheism, and although Monarchianism found most of its supporters among the ignorant, it had its prophets among the clever and cultured. Widely as the two great schools of Monarchians differed, they both agreed that no real Fatherhood had

[1] *c. Cels.* v. 39.

[2] Quoted by Justinian, L. xxi. 482, *Anm.* 3; cf. *in Joh.* i. 22.

eternally existed in the nature of God. They both denied that Christ was from eternity the Son of God. And thus, like modern Unitarians, they refused to admit that perfect fatherly love and divine submission to that love always existed in the life of God.

Modalist Monarchianism.—This was the more popular of the two forms of Monarchianism. It regarded the holy Trinity as the three different *modes* in which the One divine person manifested himself. *It is assumed that Christ is essentially divine.* The Son was ordinarily taught to be simply the Father made manifest. Thus St. Hippolytus (died about 235) accuses this heresy of maintaining that 'the Father is called also by the name of Son according to a change of times . . . confessing himself to be the Son unto those who saw Him, but not having concealed that He was the Father unto those who could receive it.' Tertullian gave to these Monarchians the name of 'Patripassians,' *i.e.* those who teach that the Father suffered.

Tertullian, Origen, Novatian, and especially St. Hippolytus, were the ablest opponents of this theory.

It was introduced into Rome in the time of Pope Victor (189-198) by **Praxeas**, who afterwards went to found a sect in Africa. He taught that the Father and the Son were the same person, but in attempting to explain himself he said that in Jesus Christ there was a man who was 'the Son' and that this was Jesus, and also a Spirit who was 'the Father,' and that this was Christ. The Popes Victor, Zephyrinus and Callistus were considered favourable to Patripassianism. The case of Victor is doubtful, but Zephyrinus appears to have been inclined to this heresy, and Callistus taught much the same as Praxeas.

Noetus of Smyrna and certain of his disciples had a large following at Rome at this period. Noetus taught Patripassianism in its simplest and barest form. 'He said that Christ himself was the Father, and that the Father himself was born, and suffered, and died.'[1] He accepted the Gospel of St. John, but asserted that the

[1] Hipp. *c. Noet.* 1.

statements about the eternal Word were merely figurative and allegorical. His disciple Cleomenes held the theory that God is both invisible and visible, and that when visible He is the Son. It is very probable that these teachers sincerely desired to maintain the great truth that it was God himself who chose to share man's griefs and trials, but it cannot be denied that their theory undermines some of the most important truths of the Gospel. There are reasons for thinking that their conception of God was influenced by the philosophy of the Stoics.

Sabellius taught the most complete and systematic form of Modalist Monarchianism. He appears to have been connected with the district of Pentapolis in Libya, and lectured in Rome in the days of Zephyrinus and Callistus. His influence was so important that Catholics in the East generally called Modalist Monarchians 'Sabellians.' He advanced beyond Noetus by giving a definite place in the Godhead to the Holy Spirit. Moreover, by teaching that the three divine persons are three distinct *activities*, he made a nearer approach to Catholic doctrine than Noetus. But the likeness between Sabellianism and Catholicism was only superficial. Sabellius was strictly Modalist. He held that God is a unit, and that as Father God is the Creator and Law-giver, as Son He is Redeemer, as Spirit He is the Giver of life and holiness. These modes of God's life were taught to be manifested successively and not simultaneously. They were called *prosôpa*, a word which the Catholics sometimes employed to describe the different persons of the Trinity, but which Sabellius used in the sense of a transitory manifestation. He described God by the uncouth word *Huiopatôr*, Son-Father. Pope Callistus, in spite of his leaning towards Monarchianism, excommunicated Sabellius.

It is important to notice that the central idea of this doctrine was accepted by Schleiermacher, an eminent German preacher and writer of the early part of the nineteenth century. Schleiermacher became the founder of a large school of German theologians, who have used Christian phrases about the Trinity and the incarnation while rejecting the ancient and legitimate meaning of

such phrases. Even in England we may discern a tendency towards Sabellianism in shallow explanations of the Trinity as 'God in nature, God in history, and God in the conscience,' or in the statement that we preserve the doctrine of the Trinity if we recognise that God has revealed himself as Power, Wisdom, and Love, while denying that these three essential activities eternally knew and loved each other in a personal relationship.

Adoptionist Monarchianism.—This agrees with Modalist Monarchianism in holding that there is only one person in the Godhead. Its peculiarity is the theory that Jesus became the adopted Son of God, a divine power having been bestowed upon Him. *It is assumed that Christ is essentially human.* This heresy was brought to Rome by **Theodotus**, a tanner from Byzantium. He was expelled from the Church by Pope Victor about 190 or earlier. As St. Hippolytus shows that Theodotus taught that Jesus was only a human prophet on whom the Spirit, otherwise called Christ, descended at His baptism,[1] we can safely assert that the view held by Theodotus as to 'the rule of faith' was very different from the view held by Catholic Christians. His heresy is often called **Psilanthropism** (*i.e.* the doctrine that our Lord is 'mere man').

Another Theodotus, by profession a banker, taught the same doctrine at Rome in the time of Pope Zephyrinus. Christ, he said, was a 'mere man' who received the Holy Spirit as His baptism, and so became exalted to a quasi-divine rank. Some of the followers of Theodotus believed that Christ became completely deified after His resurrection. Others denied this, and thought that He never was really God at all. The Theodotians affirmed that the apostles themselves had taught as they did, and that the truth of the Gospel-message had been kept until the times of Victor! In spite of the grotesque character of this assertion, it has been utilised by eminent modern Rationalists who have misunderstood the teaching of Hermas as Adoptionist, and endeavoured to establish a chain of Adoptionist teaching between the apostles and the Theodotians.

[1] *Philos.* vii. 35.

Artemon who died about 270 was the last important teacher of Adoptionist Monarchianism in Rome.

Paul of Samosata stands out as the greatest representative of this school of thought. He was a Syrian and was bishop of Antioch, one of the most magnificent and populous cities in the empire, and was partly responsible both for the long-lived ecclesiastical jealousies between Antioch and Alexandria, and also for the Arian controversies of the fourth century.

Paul of Samosata taught that there was in God only one *prosôpon* or person. The Word was only an impersonal power of God, just as the reason of any man is impersonal. This Word dwelt, or rather acted, in the prophets, especially Moses. In Jesus, the Child of the Virgin Mary, this Word dwelt in a peculiar degree. The Word however dwelt in Jesus, *not essentially but as a quality.* That is, Jesus was only a prophet more inspired than other prophets. At His baptism Jesus was anointed by the Holy Ghost and His nature became still more divine after His resurrection. He therefore became divine *progressively,* His progress being the reward of His love and obedience to God. He might be called 'God,' and be said to have 'one will with God.' These expressions were nevertheless only metaphorical. The real meaning of Paul of Samosata was that 'the Saviour was connected with God.' He consistently tried to put down the use of chants which implied the real Divinity of Christ.

His fellow-bishops regarded his doctrines with natural horror, and three successive synods were held at Antioch to consider his case. The last synod was held in 268 or 269, and it is known that it rejected the word *homo-ousios,* consubstantial, as applied to the Son. St. Hilary and St. Athanasius differ in their account of this circumstance. Athanasius suggests that the word was rejected by the Catholics because Paul said that they used it in a materialising sense; Hilary leads us to suppose that Paul used it to imply that the Word was an impersonal attribute of the Father, and that the Catholics therefore condemned it.

In 272 the Emperor Aurelian took from Paul the

ecclesiastical property of the Church of Antioch. But his influence was by no means at an end. His pupil, **Lucian** of Antioch, who was martyred in 312, changed the doctrine of Paul of Samosata by teaching that the Word who dwelt in Jesus was a semi-divine creature, a kind of demigod, and not an impersonal influence of the Father. He admitted that there was another Word which was the impersonal reason of God. This theory was so simple that it won acceptance, and among the hearers of Lucian who embraced this paganised Christianity were **Arius** and Eusebius of Nicomedia.

Something more similar to the original teaching of Paul lingered in some districts of the East. The *Acts of the dispute of Archelaus and Manes*, a document of the early part of the fourth century, is Adoptionist in its Christology, and the sect of the Pauliani was well-known in that century. It is more than probable that the notorious sect of the **Paulicians**, which spread over part of Europe during the Middle Ages, and had a few Armenian adherents even in the nineteenth century, was named after the great Syrian bishop. The word 'Paulician' is Armenian in form, and it seems that in the ninth century, or rather earlier, an Armenian named Smbat revived a crude form of the teaching of Paul of Samosata, and secured a host of followers among the less cultivated Armenians.

CHAPTER VI

DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS BEFORE A.D. 325

Sacraments.—In the old Latin Bible the Greek word 'mystery' was translated by the word 'sacramentum,' which meant a sacred obligation. The word sacramentum thus acquired the meaning of 'sacred ordinance.' It was probably used at a very early date by the Christians who spoke Latin to denote all the most sacred and secret elements of religion. In the letter written about the Christians by Pliny to the Emperor Trajan in 112, the word 'sacramentum' is used in a manner which suggests that the Christians, though not Pliny himself, already applied it to the Eucharist.[1] By the year 200 its use was quite established. Tertullian applies it to anything especially important in God's revelation to man. Baptism and the Eucharist having been expressly instituted by our Lord, were closely associated in the minds of Christians. Thus Tertullian speaks of 'the Sacrament of Baptism and of the Eucharist.' As St. Paul had spoken of the revealed secrets of God as 'mysteries,' and called the apostles 'stewards of God's mysteries,' the Fathers of the Church continued his practice. Some external similarities between the pagan mysteries of initiation and the Sacraments instituted by Christ caused a development of this manner of speech, and some writers, notably Clement of Alexandria, poetically describe the rites of baptism in words appropriate to the mysteries of Eleusis.

There is however no proof that either the doctrine

[1] As the service included an undertaking to obey God's Commandments, this 'Sacrament' was possibly Baptism.

or the ritual of the Christian Sacraments was permanently affected by the pagan mysteries. The Rationalistic attempts to prove that this was the case have been based upon an imperfect knowledge of the antiquity of Christian ritual, and upon a neglect of the fact that in all forms of religion there is a certain similarity caused by the natural instincts of the human heart. The fact that the Greek Fathers speak of the Sacraments in language derived from pagan devotion proves very little. St. Peter and St. Paul had done the same, and it was almost impossible for any cultured man who spoke Greek to do otherwise.

M. Renan and others have attempted to show that the influence of the pagan mysteries entered Christianity through the door of Gnosticism. Renan says: 'It is by Gnosticism that Christianity first announced itself as a new religion, destined to endure, having a worship and Sacraments, and capable of producing an art. It is by Gnosticism that the Church united itself with the ancient mysteries, and appropriated the elements in them which satisfied the people.'[1] Such statements are unproved, and worse than unproved. For it is certain that Christian worship and Sacraments occupied a position of high importance long before Gnosticism of a Greek type was fashionable, *i.e.* from A.D. 125 to A.D. 150. And such evidence as exists with regard to special points of ritual, suggests that the Gnostics parodied the worship of the Church, and not that the Church imitated the mummery of the Gnostics.

A real instance of ancient ritual being accepted by the Church is to be found in the Christian Marriage service. Marriage being both a civil ceremony and a religious ceremony, it was to be expected that some of the old ceremonies would be tolerated. The betrothal, the giving of the ring, the dowry of worldly goods, the bridal veil, and the floral wreath, are all derived from pagan Rome. But everything directly religious in the pagan ritual was displaced, and the doctrine of Christian marriage remained intact.

[1] *L'Église Chrétienne*, p. 155.

Number of the Sacraments.—As the word 'mystery' and the word 'sacrament' were both used in a wide sense, so as to include any of the deep things revealed by God in Christ, it follows that the early Christians could not speak of 'two' or 'seven' Sacraments in the modern fashion. It was not until the twelfth century that Hugh of St. Victor and Roland, and still more clearly Peter the Lombard, reckoned seven Sacraments. Hugh and Peter spoke of Baptism and the Eucharist as the principal Sacraments, and in this they retained the spirit, if not the letter, of the early Fathers of the Church. These two Sacraments certainly far outweighed all other rites in the estimation of the early Christians, as is shown by St. Augustine and previous writers. It is possible that Confirmation would have been placed in nearly as high a position, if Confirmation had not been usually administered immediately after Baptism and included in the baptismal service itself.

Baptism. — The abundant teaching contained in the New Testament with reference to Baptism removed the necessity of much discussion as to the nature of its effects. St. Paul had plainly taught that Baptism alters the spiritual status of the baptized, cancelling his past sins, and imparting a power of divine life. It is the *laver of regeneration* (*Tit.* iii. 5). Baptism was in the name of the Three Persons of the Trinity (*Didache* vii.). In this book, immersion is regarded as the best method of baptizing, but to pour water upon the head is sufficient. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Christian Baptism is distinguished from Jewish Baptism, inasmuch as the former alone 'bringeth remission of sins.' Justin speaks of the baptized as 'recreated,' and calls Baptism 'the bath for remission of sins and unto regeneration' (*Apol.* i. 66). Ignatius also regards Baptism as a defence against future sin—'let your Baptism remain your shields.'

In Hermas we have the poetical idea that the Church is built upon waters (3 *Vis.* iii.), and the author regards Baptism as so necessary that he thinks that those who died before the coming of Christ were baptized in Hades by the apostles and the teachers of Christianity.

Hermas calls Baptism the 'seal,' a word which had

been used by St. John in the Apocalypse to describe the mark given to the tested followers of our Lord. Justin calls Baptism an 'enlightenment,' the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews having previously spoken of those initiated into Christianity as 'enlightened.' The words 'seal' and 'enlightenment' were used by the pagans in connection with their mysteries. Clement of Alexandria says: 'Being baptized we are enlightened, being enlightened we are made sons, being made sons we are made perfect, being made perfect we are made immortal.'[1] It will be observed that such language has a very Greek flavour, but that each phrase can nevertheless find a parallel in the New Testament.

Origen calls Baptism 'the *first* remission of sins.'[2] In studying *Penitence* we shall see how the Church decided to grant absolution for sins committed after Baptism, sins which were regarded as infinitely more serious than those committed before Baptism, inasmuch as the latter were committed in ignorance, and before 'the knowledge of God' was gained.

Infant Baptism probably dates from apostolic times. There are good grounds for thinking that when the Jews baptized their proselytes they baptized their children also. Justin compares baptism with circumcision, which suggests that it was administered to children. Irenæus definitely mentions Infant Baptism.[3] About A.D. 190 Clement of Alexandria speaks of 'babes drawn out of the water,' and apparently refers to Infant Baptism.[4] Origen both compares Baptism with circumcision and says, 'The Church has received it as a tradition from the apostles to administer Baptism even to infants' (*parvuli*).[5]

The Eucharist as a Sacrament.—The Church constantly maintained the teaching of St. Paul that to partake of the consecrated bread and wine is to partake of the body and blood of Christ. The outward symbols were not regarded merely as symbols but as the channel

[1] *Pæd.* i. 6. 26. [2] *In Lev. Hom.* ii. 4.
[3] *Adv. Hær.* ii. 22. 4; cf. *Greek Fragment*, 33.
[4] *Pæd.* iii. 11. 59.
[5] *Ep. ad Rom.* Lib. v. 9; *in Lev.* Hom. viii. 3.

or vehicle for imparting the life of Christ to the believer. Although the *Didache* gives us a rather meagre idea of belief, even here the Eucharist is thought to be connected with a special presence of Christ, as is suggested by the use of the words *Maran atha* (the Lord cometh) and the thanksgiving at the communion, 'Thou didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son.' Wherever apostolic traditions were strong and the doctrine of the incarnation was intelligently grasped, a definite belief as to the Eucharist prevailed. The language of our Lord in *John* vi. had a marked influence in the creation of this belief.

So Ignatius (*ad Eph.* xx.) says, 'breaking one bread, which is *the medicine of immortality*,' and he reproaches the Docetists, who denied the reality of the incarnation, because 'they abstain from Eucharist and prayer because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ' (*ad Smyrn.* vi.). In the same way Justin says, 'We have been taught that this food (over which thanks have been offered by the word of prayer which comes from Him, and on which our blood and flesh are nourished by a transformation) is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh' (*Apol.* i. 66). In these statements of Ignatius and Justin we see that the Eucharist is regarded (*a*) as a guarantee of the incarnation, a symbol of the union between the human and the divine nature of Christ, and (*b*) as a guarantee of the cleansing and resurrection of the Christian's body.

This is very clearly stated by Irenæus: 'It is no longer common bread but the Eucharist, composed of two things, an earthly and a heavenly; thus also our bodies partaking of the Eucharist are no longer mortal, but have the hope of the resurrection' (*adv. Hær.* iv. 18. 5). These doctrines are sometimes represented by modern writers as magical and superstitious; but if we grant that the writings attributed to St. Paul and St. John are genuine, it is hard to deny that the doctrines are apostolic, and it is equally hard to represent them as inconsistent with the apostolic doctrine of Christ's person. The teaching of Tertullian is fundamentally the same as

that of Irenæus, and his belief is misrepresented when he is said to hold that the Eucharist is *only* a figure of the body of Christ.

The teaching of Clement of Alexandria and Origen is less clear, being affected by their allegorical method of interpreting religious facts. Clement says that the Eucharist brings man to immortality and to a union between the human spirit and the divine Logos. But he seems to regard the body of Christ in the Eucharist as itself a spirit (*Pæd.* ii. 2. 20). In the same way Origen quite simply says, 'We eat loaves which have become through prayer a certain holy body which also sanctifies those who use it with sound intention' (*c. Cels.* viii. 33). But he elsewhere speaks of the body and blood of Christ received in the Eucharist as 'the word which nourishes and the word which rejoices the heart' (*in Matt. Comm. Ser.* 85). It is therefore difficult to determine what precise meaning Clement and Origen attached to holy communion, but they believed that the communicant receives 'the divine Word,' *i.e.* the Divinity of Christ, or a word from *the* Word. They did not believe that the Christian only receives Christ figuratively, but on the other hand they did not state with sufficient clearness that the Christian partakes of the flesh of Christ. This is the result of their doctrine of Christ's person in which Christ is too exclusively regarded as belonging to the sphere of spirits. We may say that Clement and Origen imagined in the Eucharist a mystery behind the mystery discerned by their predecessors, for they regarded the elements not simply as united with the flesh and blood of Christ but with a flesh and blood which are *divine* energies.

The Eucharist as a Sacrifice.—The Eucharist from very early times was habitually called a sacrifice, although very little attempt was made to define the word 'sacrifice.' The Ante-Nicene writers agree in regarding the Eucharist as a sacrifice in which we offer the first fruits of earth with thanksgiving for all that God has done for us, and consecrate these first-fruits so that they become Christ's body and blood, and thereby we make a memorial not merely of His death but of *Him*. During the Middle

Ages there arose a tendency to lay such stress upon the passion of Christ as to forget His ascended life, and side by side with this tendency grew the habit of connecting the Eucharist almost entirely with the death of Christ. This habit passed from mediæval Catholicism into Protestantism, but it was generally absent in the early Church. The ancient liturgies do not isolate the passion of Christ but connect it with His resurrection[1] and ascension. Thus they are in harmony with St. Ambrose (died A.D. 397) and other later writers who teach that the Eucharist is neither a bare commemoration of the death of Christ nor a repetition of that death, but is the co-operation with Christ's present intercession and His offering of himself to God in heaven.

The most ancient references to the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist are in 1 *Cor.* x. 14-22 and, probably, *Hebr.* xiii. 10. The theory that the word 'altar' in the latter passage has reference to the Lord's Supper is supported by the use of the word in a passage in Ignatius: 'There is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup unto union in His blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop' (*ad Philad.* iv.). Clement also teaches this doctrine in a very simple form when he says that it is the duty of the Christian clergy 'to offer the gifts,' *i.e.* oblations (*ad Cor.* 44). In the *Didache* xiv. the Eucharist is called a sacrifice and is described as the pure offering foretold in *Malachi* i. Justin also quotes this prophecy, and calls the Eucharist 'the bread which our Christ delivered unto us to offer for a memorial of His incarnation' (*Dial.* 70). Irenæus, like Justin, believes that our Lord intended that His disciples should offer up the bread which is made the body of Christ and the cup which is made His blood. Tertullian and the Canons of Hippolytus show us that about A.D. 200 the Eucharist was offered for the departed.

These writers, however, are content to describe the elements as offered, and do little towards defining in

[1] St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 63. 16, says that whereas Christ offered the Eucharist in the evening, Christians offer it in the morning in commemoration of the resurrection.

what sense, if any, *the Eucharist is offered after it has been consecrated.*

St. Cyprian (died A.D. 258) seems to go somewhat further. He says: 'That priest acts in the place of Christ who imitates that which Christ did, and then offers in the Church to God the Father a true and perfect sacrifice' (*Ep.* 63. 14). But it is wrong to suppose that Cyprian represents the Eucharist as a repetition of the death of Christ, or to suppose that his words countenance the theory of some Roman writers that the essence of the Eucharistic sacrifice is that Christ in the Sacrament submits to a new 'self-emptying' or annihilation. Cyprian says: 'The passion is the sacrifice of the Lord which we offer' (*Ep.* 63. 17), and though he speaks of 'offering the blood' he also speaks of 'offering the chalice in commemoration of the Lord.' He apparently means that in the Eucharist we offer the blood which was once shed, and plead the merits of Christ's passion. In spite of the fact that he is now ordinarily regarded as having introduced a marked change into the doctrine of the Eucharist, we must conclude that his teaching shows little or no development. Nor does his doctrine of the priesthood exclude the participation of the laity in the offering of the Eucharist. For he both speaks very plainly of the union of 'the people' with Christ in the Eucharist, and also by saying 'we offer' seems to allow all the faithful a share in the sacrificial work. This participation of the laity in the act of offering the sacrifice is expressed with great clearness in the Roman canon of the mass and in the present Anglican service.

Penitence.—While it was held from the first that Baptism was the means of obtaining remission of sins committed before conversion, the treatment of sins committed after Baptism underwent a gradual change. In the apostolic age it was found that some Christians might sin so gravely as to lose eternal life (1 *John* iii. 15). They might be guilty of crucifying Christ afresh (*Hebr.* vi. 6). While they continued in such sin it was impossible 'to renew them again unto repentance'; they were excommunicated, and Christians were forbidden to eat with them (1 *Cor.* v. 5, 11). It would even seem

that after a man was excommunicated the Christians hesitated to pray for him. He was regarded as beyond the reach of prayer (1 *John* v. 16).

Stringent as this discipline was, the truly penitent sinner might be received again (2 *Cor.* ii. 7). Even in the case of less serious offences some kind of confession of sins was usual. St. James tells his readers to confess their sins one to another and pray one for another. In the New Testament to 'confess sins' does not only mean to acknowledge them to God, but to acknowledge them openly in the face of men.[1] In the *Didache* xiv. the communicants are to confess their sins 'in order that your sacrifice may be pure.' St. Clement urges the need of confessing transgressions to the divine Master (*ad Cor.* 52; cf. *Barnabas* xix.). The author of 2 *Clement* joins confession with repentance, urging that the craftsman may reshape a twisted vessel, but that he cannot mend it after he has once cast it into the fiery oven. That these confessions were sometimes made in public is shown in the *Didache* iv.: 'In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions.' Sometimes the confession was made to God only, as in Hermas 3 *Vis.* i.

In the case of very grave sins it is almost certain that the confession was always made definitely and aloud in public. For it is clearly the purpose of Hermas to aid the Church by advising that a sinner should be allowed to be reconciled with the Church after one relapse, but not after a second relapse. It is presupposed that the Church intervenes. From Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 13. 5) and Tertullian we gather that the public confession was accompanied by signs of self-abasement. The penitents asked the presbyters and martyrs for the prayers of the assembled Church. The more scrupulous Christians doubted whether the Church ought to grant absolution for idolatry, blasphemy, murder, false witness, fraud, adultery, fornication, 'and any other violation of the temple of God.' In some places, such as Carthage and Corinth, absolution was granted to the penitent after one

[1] *See* Westcott on 1 *John* i. 9. But the word 'confess' in Biblical Greek is also used for confession to God only.

relapse into such sins. At Rome, however, the Church appears to have been more rigid. When Pope Callistus, A.D. 218, offered to grant absolution to those who repented of adultery or fornication, he was bitterly criticised by Hippolytus and Tertullian. The Montanists, in particular, regarded absolution for such sins as a shameless condescension to human weakness. Callistus and his supporters appealed with great fitness to the action of St. Paul at Corinth, to Christ's forgiveness of the adulteress, and to the parable of the prodigal son. Callistus had no intention of condoning sin, or even of granting absolution *twice* to the Christian who had fallen into such gross sins.

About 250 the persecution of the Church by Decius led to a new development in the ministry of penitence. During the persecution many Christians lapsed, and the question arose whether these *lapsi* who had denied the faith ought to be received back into communion with the Church. **St. Cyprian**, bishop of Carthage, is the man whose history and genius are most closely connected with this controversy. He set his face against (i) the rigorist theory that no absolution should be granted for apostasy, and (ii) the lax theory that a repentant apostate ought to be admitted again to communion if he received a recommendation from a *Confessor*, *i.e.* a Christian who had conspicuously suffered for the faith.

In spite of furious opposition Cyprian and the Church of Rome succeeded in carrying their point, and the absolution of sins became definitely regulated by means of a procedure approved by the bishops. Penitentiary presbyters were appointed by the bishops to receive confessions and direct the discipline of penitents. In the fourth century we find that this discipline corresponded closely with the discipline imposed on the catechumens who were being prepared for baptism. The party of **Novatian**, which insisted that the Church ought not to pardon apostates, left the Church and organised a powerful sect in 251.

Those modern writers who exaggerate the so-called sacerdotalism of Cyprian, declare that he secured the triumph of an unprimitive and unscriptural theory of the episcopate and of the Church. But Cyprian certainly

does not attribute more authority to the episcopate than that which is attributed to the bishops by Ignatius and claimed by St. Paul for himself. It may be urged with fairness that to forgive *apostasy* seems to imply a forgetfulness of the truth that baptism means that the Christian has for ever dissociated himself from paganism. But the same argument holds good with regard to other mortal sins. If St. Paul and Callistus were right in allowing a Christian who had been guilty of impurity to be restored to communion with the Church, then Cyprian was right in allowing even an apostate 'a second plank' on which those who had made shipwreck of their lives might be saved.

The public penance which the Church required to be performed by those whose sins had been public, became rare after the end of the eleventh century, as it caused more scandal than edification.

It should be observed that the present Roman doctrine of *Indulgences* differs totally from the original conception. In the fourth century absolution was occasionally granted to a penitent before he had passed through the discipline ordinarily required. This was the only indulgence granted. But the present practice of the Roman Church is to say that inasmuch as the penance or discipline is not always enough to make satisfaction for the sin committed, the penitent ought to try, after his sin has been forgiven, to gain an Indulgence, *i.e.* remission of the temporal punishment due to sin. These Indulgences are granted for certain periods of time, so that the penitent who gains an Indulgence of one hundred days is reckoned as having endured an equivalent of one hundred days of such discipline as was anciently required before absolution was granted. Nevertheless, the penitent is required to perform the penance imposed upon him, whatever Indulgences he may gain.

Confirmation.—Baptism was immediately followed by the laying on of hands on the part of the bishop. The candidates were also anointed on the head with perfumed oil. Both these rites are mentioned by Tertullian about A.D. 200. In A.D. 251 Cornelius, bishop of Rome, explains that this laying on of hands communicates the holy

Spirit and must follow Baptism. A similar statement is made by one of the bishops who acted with Cyprian. Until the thirteenth century children were confirmed as soon as possible after Baptism. The necessity of baptizing by priests in the absence of a bishop led to the present custom of the Eastern Church, in which Confirmation consists in the anointing of the child by a priest with oil which has been consecrated by the bishop. The ordinary Roman Catholic practice for a bishop, when confirming a large number of candidates, merely to extend his hand towards them, and not to lay his hand upon them, does not appear to have become general until after the Reformation.

Holy Orders.—In this small book it is impossible to make more than the briefest references to such a subject as the doctrine of the ministry. We may, however, observe that the belief that the apostles instituted a permanent threefold ministry depends mainly upon a belief in the authenticity of the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles to Timothy* and *Titus*. These books make it evident that the apostles instituted the order of deacons and the order of presbyters, and that above these two orders there were officials who were either apostles or delegates of the apostles. All the ancient Churches of Christendom retain this type of government, which is known as Episcopacy, a name derived from the Greek word *episkopos*, or overseer, which was originally a title of the presbyters, but was afterwards given to the highest order of the clergy. At the present day the opponents of Episcopacy are divided among themselves, and their theories are even more antagonistic to one another than to Episcopacy. They all admit that the Episcopal system appears to have been dominant almost everywhere about A.D. 170, but hold that at the end of the first century the government of the Church was either (1) *Presbyterian*, the presbyters forming the highest class of officials, or (2) *Democratic* or *Congregational*, varying according to the pleasure and necessities of the various communities.

The writers who support the Presbyterian theory have failed hitherto to produce one clear case of the presbyters ruling a primitive Church. The only two instances

which seem to favour their view being (*a*) the fact that St. Polycarp in writing to the Philippians about A.D. 110 only mentions presbyters and deacons, and no bishop, at Philippi; and (*b*) the fact that St. Jerome, late in the fourth century, states that in early times the presbyters of Alexandria 'nominated' their own bishop. It cannot be said with complete certainty that Jerome thought that this nomination included ordination, but it is possible that he meant this.

Both these facts are very far from conclusive. For to say that there was no superior at Philippi above the presbyters when Polycarp wrote is very different from proving that these presbyters were not under a superior. And there are statements in Origen and elsewhere which make it very unlikely that Jerome could say with accuracy that the bishop of Alexandria derived his commission from his presbyters.

The writers who support any Congregational theory of the ministry rely mainly upon the variations in the names of the ministers of the Church described in different parts of the New Testament. Some deny that the presbyters mentioned in the New Testament were officials at all. Some, including prominent continental Rationalists, find that their theory is quite incompatible with the genuineness of *Acts* and some of St. Paul's Epistles, and reject these writings chiefly on this ground. So much fresh evidence has recently been produced in favour of the genuineness of *Acts*, and the later Epistles attributed to St. Paul show a state of affairs so much in harmony with their traditional date, that it is now as unreasonable to reject these writings as it is unreasonable to reject those of St. Ignatius. Ignatius speaks of a threefold ministry in the most distinct terms. While mentioning presbyters and deacons, he regards bishops as essential in the Church and speaks of them as 'established in the farthest parts of the earth.'

To sum up. In *Acts* we have the apostles above the presbyters or *episkopoi*. In the *Epistles to Timothy* and *Titus* (about A.D. 62-67), in St. Clement A.D. 97, in the *Didache* perhaps near the same date, in St. Ignatius A.D. 110, in Hermas about A.D. 140, we find the presbyters are

always under superior officials who were gradually given the title of *episkopoi* when it seemed unnecessary to use this title for the presbyters themselves. We also find that in the latter part of the second century Episcopacy was firmly established in regions where apostolic traditions were most faithfully preserved, and we have lists of the early bishops of Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, together with information about bishops in Smyrna, Ephesus, and Corinth, which go to prove that Episcopacy is an apostolic institution. We should finally add that ancient writers, and notably St. Clement, hold fast to the principle of Apostolical Succession. They assume that the ministers of the Church receive power to act as the representatives of man to God and as 'stewards of God's mysteries' through the laying-on of hands by the apostles.[1]

The nature of some of the functions discharged by the clergy has already been indicated in the account of Baptism, Penitence, and the Eucharist. During the second century their duties of teaching and preaching seem to have been enlarged. This was partly caused by the fact that there was a diminution of those 'prophets,' whose office, as the name indicates, had been to 'tell forth' the divine message to the first Christians (see 1 *Cor.* xiv.).

Marriage.—The teaching of our Lord and His apostles raised Marriage to a level entirely different from that which it occupied among the Jews and the pagans of the Roman Empire. Some Jews married more than one wife, and many divorced their wives on the most trivial pretexts. The increase of divorce among the Romans was very marked, and the general moral tone among both Greeks and Romans was most degraded and unnatural. The Church proclaimed that marriage between Christians is indissoluble, and is of that sacred character which belongs to the union between Christ and His Church. This immediately brought Christianity into sharp antagonism both with popular licentiousness and with the exaggerated asceticism which was preached by some

[1] 2 *Tim.* i. 6; *Acts* xiv. 23.

philosophers and sectaries. The Apologists give us some valuable information on this subject, and show how the Church had to denounce not only open vice, but also the conduct of pagans who, when married, used iniquitous means to avoid the responsibilities caused by marriage. The Christians in some quarters viewed a second marriage with dislike, and thus laid upon the laity a restriction which seems originally to have only affected the clergy.[1] The Montanists altogether prohibited second marriages.

Anointing of the Sick.—The anointing of the sick by the presbyters of the Church is prescribed in St. James v. 15. There can be no reasonable doubt that this text would be considered a sufficient authority for making the rite general, but until the fifth century we have little evidence for its use among Catholics, except in a letter written to the Armenians by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, about A.D. 330. This letter only exists in an Armenian translation, but is probably genuine. Irenæus shows us that the Gnostics employed this ceremony as a means of assuring the *dying* of forgiveness, and Origen also alludes to their practice. In spite of the fact that some of the prayers used at the administration of this rite are intercessions for the recovery of the sick person, the habit of postponing its administration until the hour of death has been common in Western Europe. Thus a rite which has full scriptural authority has become popularly perverted into a resemblance of a Gnostic 'mystery.' There is every reason why this abuse should be corrected by a widespread revival of the primitive custom. In our own day this anointing has been restored among Anglicans and among the Armenians who are subject to Rome.

[1] 1 *Tim.* iii. 2.

CHAPTER VII

ARIANISM AND THE DIVINE NATURE OF CHRIST

Arius.—About A.D. 319 there began in Alexandria a struggle which gradually affected the whole Christian world. Alexander the bishop was a member of the School of Origen and firmly maintained the eternal generation of the Son of God—'the Son being ever present with Him the Father is ever perfect.' There never was a time when the Father was not Father. The Eternal Son, so he taught, was mysteriously begotten without being created, and acted as a mediating power between the created world and the unbegotten Father. Alexander was opposed by Arius, a popular and ascetic presbyter of Alexandria. Arius had been a pupil of Lucian of Antioch, and inherited from him his modified form of the teaching of Paul of Samosata. He also was connected with a school of theologians who accepted Origen's teaching about the subordination of the Son to the Father, while they disliked his teaching about the true eternity of the Son. He himself particularly disliked any phrases which suggested that the Son was an eternal and personal expression of the Father's own life.

Arius himself taught as follows :—

1. A father must exist before his son. Therefore the Son of God, whom we know as the Word, did not exist eternally with the Father.

2. The Word, not being eternal, was created before time began, in order that He might be the instrument of God in the creation of the world.

3. The Word, being created, is in all things unlike the

Father, and He might have sinned. He cannot know the Father perfectly.

4. The body of Christ had no human soul, the place of its soul was taken by the Word.

In order to support this system of belief, Arius appealed to those passages in the Old Testament which assert the unity of God, and to those passages in the New Testament which show the dependence of the Son upon the Father. We are bound to believe that there must be some attraction in Arianism, because so many people, both in ancient and in modern times, have found it attractive. With some unimportant modifications it was accepted in the sixteenth century by **Socinus** and a large number of Protestants on the continent of Europe, and it was accepted more recently by many Presbyterians in England and Ireland, and by many Congregationalists in America. Hence the origin of modern Unitarianism. The attraction of the theory seems to lie in the fact that it does not reject the narrative of the Gospels, and at the same time avoids those difficulties which are occasioned by the idea of a threefold life within the divine Unity.

Nevertheless, Arius violated a fundamental principle of the Monotheism which he professed to defend. The Catholics accused the Arians of polytheism, and they were perfectly right. For the Arians denied that the Son was God in any real sense of the word, and yet they continued to worship Him. Moreover, the Arians in their devotion to logical syllogisms neglected an obvious truth. They argued that the Father must be older than the Son because they knew that a human father is always older than his son. But they forgot that we call a man the son of his father, not because he is younger than his father, but because he has derived his life from his father. The whole of the Christian idea of God and of redemption disappears in the Arian system. We are left with an unknown God, who teaches us through a demigod who is neither human nor divine.

The Council of Nicæa.—The religious policy of the Emperor Constantine differed as widely from the modern notion of toleration as it differed from the old Roman

policy of persecution. Constantine was at heart a believer in Christianity, but he remained the official head of Roman paganism. He supported the pagan religion of Rome and supported the Christian Church, allowing the world to see that he had a personal preference for the latter. He had no wish to support or countenance various forms of Christianity, and as soon as the contest between Arius and Alexander became serious he endeavoured to quiet the combatants with platitudes which were as ill timed as they were well meant. Finding that neither party was content to regard so important a question as a mere matter of dialectics, he summoned the bishops of the Church to meet at **Nicæa** in A.D. **325.** The Council ended in a quick defeat of the Arian party and the adoption of a creed which was intended to exclude the possibility of Arianism ever finding an entrance into the Church again. The creed was that already in use at Cæsarea, to which the Council added several significant phrases.[1]

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten *that is of the substance of the Father,* God of God, Light of Light, *very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance (homoousios) with the Father,* by whom all things were made, *both the things in heaven and the things on earth;* who *for us men and* for our salvation *came down and* was incarnate, and suffered and rose on the third day, ascended into heaven and cometh to judge the living and dead.

And in the Holy Ghost.

But those who say that there was a time when He was not, and that before He was begotten He was not, and that He was made out of what did not exist, or assert that He is of a different hypostasis or substance, or that the Son of God is created or capable of change or alteration, the Catholic Church anathematises.

Among the most determined opponents of Arius was **Athanasius,** a deacon of Alexandria. He had written a

[1] These additional phrases are here printed in italics.

treatise *On the Incarnation* before the outbreak of the controversy. It is a wonderful production for so young a man. It is an inquiry into the reason of the incarnation, followed by a defence of Christianity against Judaism and paganism. In spirit it bears a considerable resemblance to the theology of Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. John. 'He became man, in order that we might become divine; and He manifested himself through a body, in order that we might gain a conception of the unseen Father,' and, 'He takes a body capable of death in order that it, having been made to participate in the Word who is above all, might be fit to die instead of all, and through the indwelling Word might remain incorruptible, and that for the future corruption should cease from all by the grace of the resurrection.' The leading idea of the treatise is that man is restored to virtue and immortality through the work which Christ has done and the power which Christ bestows. The whole argument assumes that Christ is God indeed, and this conviction runs through all the writings of Athanasius. On the death of Alexander in 328 Athanasius became bishop of Alexandria, and was henceforth the pillar of Catholicism until his death in 373.

The Eusebians.—The Catholic victory at Nicæa was brilliant, but in one sense superficial. While it was destined to have an effect hardly inferior to the effect of the Council at Jerusalem in A.D. 49, it was encountered by a mass of sullen opposition. The leader of this opposition was Bishop **Eusebius of Nicomedia**. Trained in the school of Lucian of Antioch, he was a convinced Arian and a clever schemer. He hesitated to attack the Nicene Creed, but he rallied round him a great party of malcontents who were united by their dislike of the creed. They hoped to depose one Catholic bishop after another, and then secure the adhesion of the Church to another formula. Constantine was turned by the learned **Eusebius of Cæsarea**, who stood half way between Athanasius and Arius, and in a short time ten Catholic leaders were exiled.

The Eusebians were given an opportunity by **Marcellus** of Ancyra, one of the warmest supporters of the Nicene

Creed. Marcellus endeavoured to beat the Arians on their own ground, with the result that he fell into Sabellianism and furnished the Eusebians with a powerful argument against the loyalty of the Nicene party. He agreed with the Arians that the idea of sonship implies beginning and inferiority, so that the Son of God cannot be the equal of His Father. The Arians argued that this proved that the Son is only a creature. Marcellus denied their conclusion, and turned to Scripture. St. John had said, 'In the beginning was the Word,' and had asserted the true Divinity of this Word who became the Son of Man. Therefore, said Marcellus, the Word was always divine. He was a silent thinking principle in the Father's mind, then He became an 'active energy' in order to create the universe, finally God 'expanded' into a Trinity, the Word took flesh and became a distinct person. Only when He took flesh did He become the Son of God and the Image of God. After the work of redemption is finished the Son will lay aside His human nature and deliver up the Kingdom to the Father, and the Trinity will 'contract' once more into one person. It is plain that this teaching was Monarchianism of a Sabellian type with some additional refinements resembling the distinction between the 'immanent' Word and the 'uttered' Word in Theophilus of Antioch. A pupil of Marcellus, named Photinus, exchanged this Monarchianism for a theory which closely resembled the doctrine of Paul of Samosata, and was singled out by the Eusebians for their special detestation.

In 336 Arius died, in 337 Constantine. The West was strictly Catholic, but in the East the Eusebians were masters of the situation. In the summer of 341 the retrograde character of their doctrine was clearly shown at the Council which assembled for the dedication of the cathedral church of Antioch. Three creeds were put out, the second of which is said to have been composed by the martyr Lucian. This 'Lucianic' or **Dedication Creed** is orthodox in phraseology, but is so worded as to leave Arianism possible. It asserts the exact likeness of the Son to the Father, omits the word *Homo-ousios,* and says that the three persons of the

Trinity are 'three in substance (hypostasis) but in agreement one.' After the Council was over, a few bishops reassembled and drew up a creed to present to Constans, the emperor of the West. The Nicene anathemas were ingeniously altered so as to strike at Marcellus and sanction an Arian doctrine of the divine Sonship. This creed became the basis on which the subsequent Arianising confessions of 343 (Philippopolis), 344 (the Macrostich creed of Antioch), and 351 (Sirmium), were fashioned. This multiplicity of creeds shows that the opponents of the Nicene Creed included conflicting parties, although the creeds do not conflict openly with one another. The mildly reactionary party wished to go behind the Nicene Creed because they feared Sabellianism and saw that the Roman Church which favoured that creed had accepted the explanations which Marcellus gave concerning his own doctrine. The strongly reactionary party, who were genuine Arians, took advantage of this feeling, and the result was that the new creeds, as a whole, only half condemned Arianism, while they tacitly set aside the Nicene formula and violently attacked Marcellus.

The Anomœans.—Gradually the two streams of tendency which had been combined in the Eusebian party began to divide. It became more evident that some members of this party were influenced by Origen while others were the descendants of Paul of Samosata. They were only united by a negation and veiled their difference under evasive statements. But after 351 there arose a party of uncompromising Arians who were determined to teach the Arian system in all its bearings. This was the party called Anomœan, and it taught the complete dissimilarity of the Father and the Son. The leaders of the party were **Aetius** and **Eunomius**. They declared that the essence of the Son was to be found in the fact that He was begotten—by which word they really meant created. The essence of the Father was to be found in the fact that He was unbegotten. It will be seen at once that this theory represents God as a blank abstraction, and directly repudiates the teaching of Christ, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' The central facts of Christianity are so completely repudiated that God

becomes the vague, shadowy Being described in later Greek philosophy. Eunomius gave a finishing touch to the Anomœan faith by maintaining that since the essence of God is so perfectly simple, we can understand God as well as God understands himself.

A formula was drawn up in 357 at the third Council of Sirmium. It does not openly call the Son 'unlike' the Father, but it does not use the word 'like,' and it actually forbids the assertion that there is an essential likeness between the Father and the Son. 'The question which used to agitate some or many concerning substance, which in Greek is called *ousia*, that is, to explain the matter more expressly, the word *homo-ousios*, or what is called *homoi-ousios*, ought not to be mentioned, nor ought any one to preach it, for the reason that it is not contained in the divine Scriptures, and that it is above the knowledge of man.' The creed suggests that the Son was created by insisting upon His subjection to the Father, 'along with all things subjected to Him by the Father.' The Father is said to be 'greater in Godhead' than the Son.

This creed, which has been known through all Church history as the **Blasphemy**, was the greatest blunder in the annals of Arianism. It immediately alienated the moderate party, of which the numerical strength of the non-Catholics had been composed. The religious men who really feared Sabellianism, but had never intended to support Arianism for its own sake, saw that they must dissociate themselves from the Arians. In 358 they met at Ancyra under the leadership of Basil of Ancyra, a man of high character. Cyril of Jerusalem, Eustathius of Sebastia, Mark of Arethusa, Meletius of Antioch, and other influential bishops were in sympathy with Basil. The statement which was drawn up at Ancyra consolidated this party, which is known as **Semi-Arian** and may with equal truth be called Semi-Nicene. They were determined that the divine Sonship of Christ should not be represented as a merely titular dignity. And therefore while they repudiated the term *Homo-ousios*, they declared that 'every father is understood to be father of a substance (*ousia*) like his own.' The Son is '**like in substance**, perfect of perfect.' The divine

substance is 'life,' and this is given by the Father to the Son, so the Son was not merely begotten by the 'power' of the Father, which would really imply that He was only created, but 'by the power and substance alike.' The confession of this divine Fatherhood in God is asserted to be the distinguishing mark which separates the Church from the Jew and the heathen, who only know God as Creator.

It is evident that the Semi-Arians who met at Ancyra had conceded almost everything that the Catholics desired. Nothing but a nominal breakwater now stood between them and the rising conviction that the Nicene Creed was scriptural. They had admitted the fact of the divine Sonship, they were only repudiating the use of a word which, though they did not see it, was the only word which did justice to that fact. In less than ten years numbers of them had accepted the faith in its fulness.

The Latitudinarians.—Thorough Arianism was now hopelessly discredited. It had failed to get more than a precarious foothold in the empire. The Catholic party had not entirely convinced the Semi-Nicene bishops, although St. Hilary of Poictiers in his masterly treatise *De Synodis seu de fide Orientalium*, probably written in 358, had done his best. He proved that the word *Homoi-ousios*, 'of like substance,' ought to imply the consubstantiality of the Son and the Father. But it was still possible to maintain that no formula had proved satisfactory, and to suggest a new scheme. If we cannot say *of one substance*, nor *of like substance*, nor yet *unlike*, the only course open is to say *like*, and forbid any further definition. To have a broad, elastic phrase and to persecute every bishop who preferred an unambiguous statement of his faith, was the policy of the Latitudinarians or **Homœans** (from *homoios* like).

This party was led by Acacius in the East and by Valens in the West. These two bishops appear to have been among the most unscrupulous men of the period. Valens was at heart an Anomœan. But he was clever enough to see that he could only accomplish his purpose by making use of less extreme men than himself. He was willing to pose as a Homœan in order to win a body

of adherents strong enough to annihilate the Nicene Creed. The *Blasphemy* of 357 had been his work, and it had the full approval of Acacius, who was a court bishop willing to accept any creed which he thought would receive the support of the State. After the Council of Ancyra in 358 Valens saw a new opportunity. All ecclesiastical parties were excited and dissatisfied, and he therefore suggested to the Emperor Constantius the idea of a general Council. He also suggested that it should be divided into two parts. Half was to meet at Ariminum, where Valens would be present in person. The other half was to meet at Seleucia in Cilicia under the management of Acacius. It was agreed that these two synods should accept a Homœan creed which was composed beforehand. The result was the **Dated Creed** of May 22, 359. It prohibits the word *ousia*, and asserts that the Son is *like in all things* to the Father. Valens and his friend Ursacius endeavoured to suppress the words *in all things*, but the Emperor Constantius insisted that the words should be retained. Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea were both weak enough to sign the creed, and felt it so necessary to explain their conduct that they drew up a memorandum of a Semi-Nicene character. In this memorandum they insisted on the essential likeness of the Son and the Father, and repudiated the Anomœan doctrine that the nature of God is adequately expressed by the statement that he is unbegotten.

The two synods of Ariminum and Seleucia were completely outwitted by the Homœans, although the majority of bishops at Ariminum was Catholic and at Seleucia was Semi-Arian. The majority at Ariminum rejected the Dated Creed, and the majority at Seleucia rejected another form of the same creed. From both synods went deputations to the emperor. He detained the deputies from Ariminum at Hadrianople and then at Nice in Thrace, where they were induced to sign a distinctly Homœan creed. Valens returned to Ariminum with this creed, and by a series of lies and evasions induced the simple Catholic Western bishops to sign it. He then hurried to Constantinople, where he met the

Semi-Arian deputies from Seleucia. He and Acacius invoked the help of the emperor, and induced the Semi-Arians to yield, partly by holding over them the threats of the emperor, partly by declaring that they repudiated the word *unlike*. The Semi-Arians yielded on New Year's Eve, 359-360. In January 360 a Council was held at Constantinople, and the creed of Nice was reissued without the anathemas against Anomœan doctrine which had been appended at Ariminum. The Latitudinarian party was now supreme. They persecuted Catholics and Semi-Arians alike, and while they sacrificed the Anomœan Aetius to the Homœan scruples of the emperor, they permitted the appointment of several Anomœans to vacant episcopal sees. The Catholic cause appeared absolutely hopeless when it was saved from annihilation by the death of Constantius in 361.

The Catholic Revival.—Constantius was succeeded by Julian, a dilettante pagan, who had been brought up on Arian principles, and hoped that the conflicting Christian parties would destroy each other. He recalled the Christian bishops who had been banished from their sees, with the result that Athanasius was able to exercise his potent influence once more. Julian also persecuted and annoyed the Christians just enough to make them more inclined to close their ranks. The Council held under Athanasius at Alexandria in 362 proved that the Christians were neither as ignorant nor as narrow-minded as Julian hoped.

The Council dealt with three doctrinal points. (1) The terms on which communion should be granted to those Arians who desired to be admitted into the Church. It was decided that they should only be required to accept the Nicene Creed and to anathematise Arianism, including the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is a creature. It is evident that Arianism was now sacrificing the Deity of the Holy Spirit to a false idea of the unity of God as it had previously sacrified the Deity of the Son. (2) The integrity of Christ's human nature. It was asserted that the Son took not only a true human body but also a true human soul. This assertion was probably directed against Arianism, but it was soon to derive

new importance from the heresy of Apollinaris (*see* chap. viii.). (3) An old misunderstanding as to some theological phrases. In the anathemas appended to the Nicene Creed, the word *hypostasis* had been used as an equivalent to the word *ousia*, substance. The Latins used the word *substantia* to represent both these words. On the other hand, most of the Eastern bishops used the word *hypostasis* in the sense of subject or person. It was therefore natural that those who spoke of one hypostasis should regard the phrase 'three hypostaseis' as pagan or Arian, while those who spoke of three hypostaseis should regard the phrase 'one hypostasis' as Sabellian. The contradiction was only verbal, and the two parties came to a complete understanding. All agreed that it was better to use the language of the Nicene Creed than either of these conflicting phrases.

Owing to the influence of the writings of the three great Cappadocian fathers—Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus—the phrase, 'one ousia, three hypostaseis,' became and remained the ordinary formula of Catholic Christians. This is further explained by the following words of Gregory of Nyssa: 'One and the same person of the Father, of whom the Son is begotten and the Spirit . . . proceeds.' The Cappadocian Fathers were warm admirers of Origen, and it is partly to him that the habit of speaking of more than one hypostasis in the Godhead is to be traced.

The Council of Constantinople.—The final establishment of the Nicene faith throughout the empire took place in 381, when a Council was held at Constantinople at the command of the Emperor Theodosius the Great. This Council was not intended to be a General Council of the Church, but it received universal consent, and therefore has always been reckoned as the Second General Council of the Church. The Council ratified the Nicene Creed. The Council also appears to have expressed approval of another creed without intending that it should be publicly employed. This second creed was the baptismal creed of Jerusalem, into which some phrases of the Nicene Creed had been wisely inserted by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem. It states that the Son is 'of one substance'

with the Father, but omits the words, '*That is of the substance of the Father.*' It adds the words, 'Whose kingdom shall have no end.' After the words, 'And in the Holy Ghost,' it goes on, 'The Lord, the Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets. And one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.'

This Jerusalem Creed has had a strange history. The approval which it received at Constantinople caused it to be known as the Creed of Constantinople. And after the Council of Chalcedon in **451** placed it side by side with the Nicene Creed it gradually began to take the place of the real Nicene Creed. It can only be called Nicene in the sense that it has incorporated the heart of the Nicene Creed.

The Council of Constantinople also condemned the Semi-Arian *Pneumatomachi* or 'Opponents of the Spirit,'[1] who made a point of denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and the Apollinarians, whose heresy is described in our next chapter.

[1] Also known as Macedonians, after Macedonius, the Semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UNION OF THE DIVINE AND THE HUMAN NATURES IN CHRIST

Athanasius.—Throughout the controversy with Arianism, Athanasius and the Catholics were mainly concerned with asserting the fact of the incarnation and the consequent truth of the doctrines of the atonement and of the Trinity. The manner of the union between the divine and the human natures in Christ was not minutely discussed. Nevertheless, the Arians raised the question whether Christ is truly human no less than the question whether Christ is truly divine. They taught that Christ was destitute of a human spirit, the place of a spirit having been taken by the half-divine Word. They therefore excluded from the Saviour's life all possibility of true human experience. Now, we might have feared that Athanasius, in asserting the true Divinity of the Son, would forget the real meaning of the Gospel narratives and give only a Docetic explanation of Christ's sufferings and humiliations. This, however, was far from being the case. He insisted very plainly upon the truth that Christ's manhood was real. Two points especially deserve attention :—

(1) *With regard to the human knowledge of Christ.* The Arians declared that the texts, *Mark* xiii. 32 and *Luke* ii. 52, proved that the Word when He became incarnate was ignorant of certain divine truths. They said that the mind which the Word brought with Him from heaven was not omniscient, and was therefore able to advance in knowledge. The argument of Athanasius in opposing this theory is that omniscience belongs to

the Godhead of the Word, but that the human mind which the Word took was limited. It was able to grow just as truly as the human stature of Christ was able to grow. He appeals to the passages in Scripture which show that our Lord possessed a knowledge transcending human limitations, and he declares that Christ manifested a divine knowledge. At the same time he asserts that our Lord could as Man be ignorant of what He knew as God. It was 'for our profit' that Christ during His life on earth willed to be limited in respect of His human nature. Athanasius here, as elsewhere, keeps strictly to Scripture. He avoids (*a*) the exaggerated theory which was common in the Middle Ages, and has been still further exaggerated in Jesuit theology—the theory that Christ's human ignorance was simply lack of actual human experience. Athanasius equally avoids (*b*) the theory which has become popular among modern Protestants—the theory that the divine mind of the Son of God became diminished and ignorant when He became incarnate.

(2) *With regard to the consubstantiality of Jesus Christ with man.* In 371, two years before his death, Athanasius wrote a *Letter to Epictetus.* In this letter he carefully criticises the theory that the body of Christ was unreal or identical in nature with His Divinity. He declares that the Saviour in very truth became Man, and that the incorporeal Word was in a passible body. 'That which was born of Mary was according to the divine Scriptures human by nature, and the body of the Lord was a true one; but it was this because it was the same as our body, for Mary was our sister inasmuch as we are all from Adam.' His human nature was really born of Mary, really nourished at her breast, it was weary and was smitten and was crucified and was handled by Thomas. Athanasius is here dealing with two classes of writers: (*a*) some who believed that the Word was actually transubstantiated into human flesh; (*b*) some who thought that the flesh of Christ was not natural but of a divine essence, so that it might have existed without Mary. A heresy which had much in common with these two kindred theories was soon afterwards rapidly propagated by the Apollinarians.

Apollinaris.—Apollinaris and his father were excommunicated by the Semi-Arian George of Laodicea. They supported Athanasius and the Nicene faith. In 362, Apollinaris was made bishop of Laodicea. Jerome studied with him in 374. Soon afterwards his teaching caused great anxiety to the orthodox, and it was condemned at Rome, Antioch, and Constantinople. Apollinaris was a man of penetrating mind, well acquainted with Greek literature, and a voluminous writer. His followers became an organised sect, with bishops, churches, and ceremonies of their own. They exercised a deplorable influence by circulating writings of Apollinaris under the names of Gregory Thaumaturgus and Athanasius. It is from these works that we gain a knowledge of the opinions of Apollinaris, but our knowledge of them is extended by the statements of Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and a treatise *Against the Apollinarians* which has been popularly attributed to Athanasius.

1. Apollinaris wished to secure the infallibility and the sinlessness of Christ. Like Marcellus, he wished to present the world with a theory which would render Arianism an impossibility. Like Marcellus, he made the mistake of accepting a fundamental tenet of the men whom he intended to oppose. The Arians said that the body of Christ was truly human, but that He had no human spirit, the place of this spirit having been taken by the Word. Apollinaris admitted this, with the difference that he declared the Word to be essentially divine and not half divine. He declared that Jesus Christ comprised within himself three elements—human flesh, a fleshly soul, *i.e.* physical human life, and the divine Word. Christ had no human *nous* or rational soul, and therefore He could not err or sin.

2. The result was summed up in the phrase, '*We confess that there is one nature of God the Word which was incarnate.*' God and flesh made one nature, the flesh was divine because joined with God; there was only one energy in Christ, and therefore only one substance. The body of Christ was only a passive instrument of His Divinity. The Catholic Christ was denounced by Apollinaris as a hybrid being like a Minotaur.

The clearness and the ingenuity with which Apollinaris expounded his theory rendered opposition exceedingly difficult. But his Catholic opponents saw that a Christ who had not taken the most essential and distinctive element in man was not really Man at all. However much Apollinaris might have desired to take a reverent view of Christ, he had really conceived of Him as only taking those characteristics which man shares with the lower creatures. A man without a spiritual intelligence is not a man but an animal. Therefore the Apollinarian Christ is not a real Redeemer. Gregory of Nazianzus appropriately says 'that which was not taken was not healed.' The Apollinarian Christ could experience no real mental trial or temptation, and therefore He is not a Saviour.

Apollinaris tried to meet this difficulty by teaching that the Word was the pre-existent heavenly man, and that it could therefore take the place of Christ's reason and spirit without making Christ unhuman. It seems that some of his followers taught that the flesh of Christ existed before the incarnation, but Apollinaris probably only meant that there was eternally in God an element peculiarly fitted to show itself in a human life. If so, Apollinaris was near an important truth. But he made it of no effect by teaching that the reason of man is *necessarily* prone to sin. Instead of teaching that the human will needs union with the divine will in order to realise its own true power and freedom, his teaching implied that the human will and rational soul inevitably tend to evil. Therefore he said that Christ must have no human will and no rational soul. The statement of the Athanasian Creed that Christ has a rational soul as well as human flesh is a standing record of the fact that the Church repudiated Apollinaris.

Theodore of Mopsuestia.—This celebrated writer became bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia in 392, very soon after the death of Apollinaris. He wrote many commentaries on the Bible, an account of Zoroastrianism, and a great treatise *On the Incarnation* against the Apollinarians and Anomœans. He had been ordained priest at Antioch, and his theology shows a strong dislike of the allegorical

method of interpreting Scripture which Origen had done so much to popularise at Alexandria. This fact has caused modern writers to exaggerate the difference between the theological tone of Alexandria and of Antioch, and to represent the theology of Antioch as entirely practical, and that of Alexandria as entirely mystical. A difference did exist, and it was increased by the national jealousies of the two great cities. But though Alexandria was the home of the mystical Origen, it was also the home of the practical Athanasius; and Antioch, which was the home of the questionable Theodore, was also the home of the orthodox John Chrysostom.

Theodore firmly believed in the Nicene Creed, but he was out of sympathy with its spirit. His doctrine of the person of Christ does not really start out from the idea of One who is God of God from eternity and then was made man. Nor, on the other hand, does the doctrine of Theodore start out from that moral appreciation of the historical life of Christ which will cause a man to inquire what Christ really is. Theodore, like Paul of Samosata, mentally separated the humanity and the Divinity of Christ, kept them both before his mind's eye, and then endeavoured to combine them. This is plainly shown by his own language. Christ is regarded as such a man that His human nature is a distinct person. With this man the Word united himself by a progressive 'connection,' similar to the connection which exists between God and the saints, who are God's adopted children. Theodore says that we can say that Christ is one person. But this is only a manner of speech made more or less legitimate by the 'connection.'

Diodore, the teacher of Theodore, held the same doctrine, and taught that there were in Christ both the divine Son of God and the human Son of David, and that the human person was adorable on account of the divine person who dwelt in it.

In fact, these writers believed that Christ was not one agent, but two. Consistently with this idea, Theodore held that it was possible for Him to have sinned. The human Christ, who was the associate of the Word, might have yielded to temptation, although, as a matter of

fact, He did not. At the Fifth General Council of the Church, held at Constantinople in 553, Theodore was anathematised for teaching that Christ had been troubled by desires of the flesh, and had gradually become separated from what was evil. That is, he was anathematised for teaching that Christ was subject to the solicitations of evil not merely from without, but also from within. Such a theory is not an innocent speculation. It aims at the heart of Christian doctrine. It says with one breath that Christ was God, and that He could nevertheless have wished to be the enemy of God.

Against the teaching of Theodore and all similar opinions the Church has always maintained that our Lord is one agent, and that His human nature had no existence whatever until the Son of God created it for himself. 'Although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ'; and, 'As the rational soul and the flesh are one man, so God and Man is one Christ.' This illustration of the Athanasian Creed cannot be pressed without danger, it does not show us a complete parallel. It reminds us that Christ is one, and that as the personality of man remains in his soul after death has separated his soul from his body, so the person of Christ truly existed before He took a body. On the other hand, this illustration is not intended to suggest that Christ had only one *will*. The Church had already maintained against Apollinaris that the manhood of Christ was complete, and had a truly human will as well as that divine will which He possessed from all eternity.

Nestorius.—The full meaning of the doctrine of Theodore was understood when it was taught in a popular form by Nestorius, a priest of Antioch who was bishop of Constantinople in 428. He became the founder of a large and active community which propagated Christianity through many parts of Asia, extending its missions into China. Since the rise of Islam, the Nestorian Christians have suffered severely from Muhammadan persecutions. They are now mainly represented by the 'Assyrian' Christians on the borders of Turkey and Persia, most of whom have in modern

times placed themselves in connection with the Roman, Anglican, or Russian Churches respectively.

A presbyter of Nestorius, named Anastasius, preached a sermon in the cathedral church of Constantinople, in which he attacked the use of the word *Theotokos* or *Mother of God*, a title which had been applied to the mother of Christ since the days of Origen. Nestorius supported his presbyter, and the whole Christian Church became involved in the controversy. **Cyril**, archbishop of Alexandria, a man of scholarly mind but imperious temper, wrote to Nestorius and protested. The two prelates then both appealed to Celestine, bishop of Rome. Celestine supported Cyril, and Cyril in **430** held a Synod at Alexandria which declared Nestorius to be a heretic. At the same time he published twelve anathemas condemning the teaching of Nestorius. These anathemas were joined to his third letter to Nestorius.

Nestorius published twelve counter-anathemas, and, thanks to the favour which he enjoyed with the emperor, he obtained the convocation of a General Council. The Council met at **Ephesus** in **431**, and Cyril opened the sessions without waiting for the arrival of John, bishop of Antioch, the most influential clerical supporter of Nestorius. The Council affirmed anew the creed of Nicæa and condemned Nestorius. John was most indignant when he arrived and learned what had happened. He held an opposing Council and excommunicated Cyril. The emperor first ratified both the sentence pronounced against Cyril and that pronounced against Nestorius. He was afterwards persuaded to restore Cyril, and in **433** John of Antioch and Cyril came to an agreement, probably through the efforts of **Theodoret**, a learned and temperate bishop of the Antiochene school.

Nestorius justly condemned.—There are good reasons for believing that Nestorius was somewhat ignorant of the real point at issue between himself and Cyril, and it is to be regretted that Cyril did not act with greater consideration. But the whole course of action taken by Nestorius shows that his condemnation was necessary. In his sermons he says: 'A creature did not bear the

Creator . . . but bore a man who was the instrument of the Godhead,' and, 'I divide the natures, but I unite the veneration.' The meaning of these statements is made clearer by his saying, 'I will never call a child two or three months old God.' Nestorius did not really believe in the incarnation of the Son of God but in the exaltation of a man. He believed that there was an increasing connection between Jesus and the Son of God, which became so close that they might be regarded as one person and worshipped as one person. He thought that Jesus Christ was God *and* a man, not the God-Man. Nestorianism is a new Adoptionism.

For Nestorius did not really believe that the experiences and humiliations of Jesus Christ were the experiences and humiliations of the divine Word, otherwise he would not have repudiated the phrase, *Mother of God*. This phrase was intended by the Church to guard the honour of the Son rather than increase the honour of the mother. It means that the Child of Mary is himself divine and not a man with whom God condescended to dwell.

St. Cyril of Alexandria.—Cyril had a true insight into the teaching of Nestorius and into the consequences which were involved in it. His own theology was essentially the same as that of Athanasius. He asserts that the two natures of Christ came together *without confusion and without change*. The Christian acknowledges 'one single Christ, the Word who is from God the Father, and has His own flesh.' The union between the two natures is personal or hypostatic, or 'natural,' *i.e.* the manhood of Christ did not destroy the unity of His person. Cyril expressly rejects the idea that the union between the two natures is a 'connection' or 'juxta position' or 'relative participation' according to which Christ would be only a man in whom the divine Word acted. The Christian's worship of Christ is therefore not the 'co-adoration' of a man side by side with God. It is offered to Emmanuel 'God with us.' The flesh of the Lord is life-giving because it is the Word's own flesh, not the flesh of a man connected with the Word. Against the Nestorian doctrine Cyril urges the teaching of St.

Paul in *Phil.* ii. 6, 7. He maintains that Christ in becoming incarnate submitted to a 'voluntary self-emptying,' and it would not have been a real self-emptying if the humiliations of Jesus had not been the humiliations of the Word.

While Cyril did his utmost to defend the faith as it had been taught by St. John and St. Paul, his language was sometimes lacking in precision. (1) He declares that he believes in 'one nature of God the Word which was incarnate.' This phrase had been used by Apollinaris, and as the Apollinarians circulated writings of their master under the name of Athanasius, it is probable that Cyril believed that the phrase was really coined by Athanasius. Cyril in one place explains that he uses the word 'nature' in the sense of hypostasis or person. But he unfortunately uses the word elsewhere in its ordinary sense. It was thus possible for his readers to suppose that after the incarnation the human nature became swallowed up in the divine nature. The phrase, 'one nature,' was destined to become before long the shibboleth of a party as mischievous as the party of Nestorius. (2) He strongly asserts that the human mind of Christ was not omniscient, and in this he is following the teaching of Athanasius. But he more than once uses words which suggest that the human ignorance of Christ was feigned. Here again Cyril explains himself; he means that the Son of God was not limited in such a way that His divine mind became idle or imperfect during His life on earth. He also means that the Divinity of Christ restrained its influence upon His human mind, and that Christ appeared to be wholly ignorant of what His divine mind really knew. In the same way a good teacher frequently appears not to know what he really does know. He consciously accommodates both his language and his thoughts to the language and thoughts of children, while he still retains and uses his own superior knowledge. It is to be regretted that Cyril spoke with some ambiguity on this subject, so that Theodoret and many modern writers have accused him of representing Christ as saying what was untrue.

Eutyches.—Recoil from Nestorianism led to the oppo-

site opinion that there was only a single nature in Christ. This doctrine found a champion in Eutyches, abbot of a monastery at Constantinople, who first became prominent in 448. Like Nestorius he wished to be logical and consistent. The Nestorians said that Jesus Christ was Man and was God; He was therefore two persons. Eutyches and his followers said that Jesus Christ was only one person; He could therefore only have one nature. Eutyches regarded the human nature of Christ as swallowed and lost in the glories of the divine nature with which it was united. When he was accused before a synod held at Constantinople, he confessed his faith in these words: 'I confess that our Lord was of two natures before the union, but after the union I confess one nature.' He compared the relation of the two natures with a drop of vinegar absorbed in the ocean. He thus taught that there was a fusion of the two natures.

Eutyches appealed to the teaching of Cyril. But he both ignored the fact that Cyril had said that there was a 'difference of the natures,' and also quoted Cyril's words, 'one nature of the Word,' without adding the phrase, 'which was incarnate.' Eutyches said that Christ had a 'human' body, but his teaching appears to nullify its human character. He made the divine element the only substantial element in the life of Christ. He suppressed the human nature of our Lord in order to make room for the divine.

While the teaching of Eutyches totally differs from that of Nestorius, these two theories are 'extremes' which 'meet.' They deny that God really came to take part in human suffering and weakness. Both men seem to have been partly conscious of this fact, although neither of them saw all that their teaching involved. Nestorianism refuses to say that it was the divine Word himself who really suffered—it was only a man whom the Word strengthened and illuminated. Eutychianism refuses to say that it was a real human nature which suffered—it was a nature which had lost its own proper character through fusion with God. Therefore in the Eutychian system the experiences and sufferings of

Christ are no longer truly human. They are only half human. Wherever Nestorian tendencies prevail, men will think that Christ was only a good example and not a real Mediator. Wherever Eutychian tendencies prevail, men will think that Christ is too divine to be what He seems.

St. Leo.—When condemned at Constantinople, Eutyches appealed to Leo, bishop of Rome, who, after learning the true state of the case from Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, addressed to him the famous *Tome*.

In the meantime, Dioscorus, archbishop of Alexandria, induced the Emperor Theodosius II. to summon a Council of the Church at Ephesus. The Council met in **449**, Dioscorus and his supporters declared Eutyches to be orthodox; his opponents were deposed and treated with the greatest violence, and the gentle Flavian died from the wounds which he received. Such was the end of the **Latrocinium**, or Robber-Council of Ephesus.

The Tome of Leo was set aside at the Latrocinium, but it was reserved for a fitting opportunity. It contains a remarkably clear and practical statement of the doctrine of the incarnation. It is far less subtle than many theological documents written by Greek authors, and is thoroughly Latin in its tone. Against Eutyches it insists upon the following facts:—

1. There are two natures in Christ. There is His divine nature which was begotten of the Father, and His human nature which was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary. The reality of the body which Christ took of His mother is asserted, and each 'form' or nature of Christ is said to do that which is appropriate to it, but in communion with the other 'form.' The distinctive properties of the two natures remain and are not abolished.

2. The humiliation which was involved in Christ's taking our flesh 'was the condescension of pity, not a failure of power.' This supreme act of love shows the true greatness of our Creator.

3. The two natures are united permanently. Christ when incarnate was truly God; 'the Word did not abandon equality with the Father's glory.' But at the

same time the manhood is not consumed by the dignity of the Godhead. Christ remains in each nature; the word *in* being used to guard against the Eutychian quibble that Christ was *of* two natures, but did not remain *in* both. The Son of Man who came down from heaven is the same as the Son of God who was crucified.

The Council of Chalcedon.—Theodosius died in **450**. He was succeeded by Marcian and Pulcheria, who were not under the influence of Dioscorus, and determined that a new Council should be held at Chalcedon in **451**. At the fifth session of this Council a *Definition* was ratified which was intended to exclude Eutychianism. The Nicene Creed of **325** was acknowledged, and side by side with it the so-called Constantinopolitan Creed. This latter creed was put upon the same level as the Nicene Creed, and in many countries, including England, it now passes for the Nicene Creed. It should also be noticed that even the Nicene Creed itself, as recited at Chalcedon, differed slightly from the Nicene Creed of **325**. It added the words, 'of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,' and 'whose Kingdom shall have no end,' and described the Holy Ghost as 'the Lord, the Giver of life.' There were also some smaller changes which show that the language of the 'Constantinopolitan' Creed had already tinged the phrases of the old Nicene Creed.

The *Definition* condemns all Nestorian, Apollinarian, and Eutychian theories by repudiating those who deny that Mary is Mother of God, and those who introduce the idea of a fusion and mixture of the two natures, and pretend that there is only one nature consisting of the flesh and of the Godhead of the Son, and vainly say that the divine nature of the only-begotten Son could suffer. In order to check such ideas, the Council endorses the letters of 'the blessed Cyril' to Nestorius and to the Easterns, and 'the letter of the most blessed and holy Archbishop Leo which was written to Archbishop Flavian, who is numbered with the saints.' The *Definition* then makes its own meaning still more unmistakable by condemning those who teach that there is a double Sonship in Christ, or say that His Godhead could suffer, and that

there is a fusion of the two natures, and that His 'form of a servant' was made of a heavenly substance, and that there were two natures before, but only one nature after, the union.

Then the faith is thus confessed: 'One and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same being perfect in Godhead and the same being perfect in Manhood, truly God and truly man, the same having a rational soul and a body, of one substance with the Father according to the Godhead, and the same being of one substance with us according to the manhood, in all things like unto us except sin . . . one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, acknowledged *in two natures*, without fusion, without change, without division, without separation; the difference of the two natures having been in no wise taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and combining to form one person and one hypostasis.'

The phrase, *in two natures*, was intended to assert that our Lord's manhood remained real and permanent after the union of the manhood with the Godhead. The words 'without fusion, without change' exclude Eutychianism, while the words 'without division, without separation' as plainly exclude Nestorianism. As it is, this *Definition* made by the Fourth General Council is a masterpiece of moderation and strength. It is not a mere reactionary document, and it does not drive men into opposition by any unguarded or one-sided statement. On the other hand, it is clear and definite. The most ardent believer in the Divinity of Jesus Christ can conscientiously feel that nothing which really exalts Christ in the thoughts of men has been in any way suppressed. The modern Christian can look back upon the great Councils of the years **325**, **381**, **431**, and **451** with deep thankfulness. Through an age of bitterness and jealousy, when the Church was divided within and opposed without, the Church still remained 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' The dogmatic decisions of these Councils have kept the Christ of the Gospels. And we witness with reverent wonder the fulfilment of those words which Christ spoke to His apostles concerning the work of the

Holy Ghost: 'He shall glorify me; for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you' (*John* xvi. 14).

NOTE.—The doctrinal teaching expounded by the First Four Councils is accepted by the Churches of the Roman communion, of the Anglican communion, and of the Orthodox Eastern communion. The last includes the Greek-speaking Christians of the patriarchal Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, also of the Churches of Greece and Cyprus. Some Arab Christians are also included. The Orthodox Eastern Church also includes the Churches of Russia, Georgia, Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and three national Churches in Austria, respectively under the Orthodox Archbishops of Czernowitz, Carlowitz, and Hermannstadt. The Bulgarian Church accepts the same doctrinal standard, but is not at present in communion with the rest of the Eastern Church.

The First Three Councils are recognised by the Armenians, who are slightly affected by Eutychianism and have not accepted the Fourth Council, though sometimes in practical agreement with it. Similar in doctrine, but more definitely Eutychian, is the West Syrian or Jacobite Church situated in the country which lies between Antioch and Mosul; the Coptic Church, which numbers about 260,000 souls in Egypt; and the large, but very ignorant, Church of Abyssinia.

The First Two Councils are recognised by the Assyrian or East Syrian Church of Kurdistan. It now numbers only about 200,000 souls, and its Nestorianism is not very definite.

The total number of unorthodox Christians in the East is infinitesimal compared with the enormous number belonging to the Orthodox Eastern Church.

CHAPTER IX

ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE ATHANASIAN CREED

St. Augustine's Doctrine of the Trinity.—No Father of the Church has had an influence equal to that of St. Augustine (A.D. 354-430). A convert from paganism to the half-pagan system of Manicheism, he discovered that nothing less than the Catholic faith could sanctify his life and satisfy his heart. He dedicated to the service of Christ all the fruit of a religious imagination, a comprehensive mind, and a magnificent education. He was as familiar with the latest Greek philosophy as he was skilled in every nicety of the Latin language. One of the most independent of thinkers, he was also one of the most devout of mystics; and while his manly vigour has won able admirers even for his few mistakes, his words have carried with them a fragrance too delicate to be caught except by those whose souls are like his own.

St. Augustine's work, *De Trinitate,* presents a more complete doctrine of the Trinity than had hitherto been stated. The author starts out from a firm conception of the unity of God. 'This Trinity is one God, and not therefore simple, because God is a Trinity.' Hence 'the works of the Trinity are inseparable,' all the three persons combine in their work. The Son and the Holy Spirit co-operated with the Father in causing the incarnation. The word 'person' is necessary, although it is not adequate to describe the mystery of divine life. 'We have said three persons, not merely in order to say it, but to avoid keeping silence.'[1]

[1] *Trin.* v. 9, 10.

Father, Son, and Spirit are not three separate beings like three human persons. They may be compared with the three facts of mind, knowledge, and will (or love), in one human being. The mind is the source of knowledge and of will, the mind knows itself in realising knowledge, and the relation between the mind and the object of its knowledge produces an active will. Nevertheless these three facts are inseparable, and thus although 'the Father is one, and the Son another, and the Holy Spirit another, all together are one Lord.'[1] Augustine, in the plainest way, states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father.[2] No Eastern theologian has stated this so plainly.

The 'Athanasian' Creed.—This creed is in form completely Western and Latin, and it is most strange that it has become popularly associated with St. Athanasius. The origin of the creed is still involved in obscurity, but it is plain that it represents the theology of Augustine, and it may be regarded as fairly certain that it was composed during the fifth century in South Gaul. Possibly its author was **Vincent of Lerinum** who wrote about **434**. Vincent was familiar both with the writings of St. Augustine and with the Nestorian controversy, and the creed shows traces of St. Augustine's influence and of the language used by the Catholics in opposing Nestorianism.

The 'Athanasian' Creed is here subjoined, with a new translation of some of its phrases, and references to the heresies condemned in its various clauses:—

INTRODUCTION

1. Whosoever wisheth to be safe, before all things he ought to hold the Catholic Faith.
2. Which Faith except a man have kept whole and unviolated, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY

3. Now the Catholic Faith is this: That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.

[1] *Deut.* vi. 4. [2] *Trin.* xv. 29.

4. Neither confusing the persons (*against Sabellianism*, see p. 68) nor separating the Substance (*against Arianism*, see p. 87).
5. For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.
6. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal.
7. Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.
8. The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated: and the Holy Ghost uncreated.
9. The Father infinite, the Son infinite: and the Holy Ghost infinite.
10. The Father eternal, the Son eternal: and the Holy Ghost eternal.
11. And yet there are not three eternals: but one eternal (*i.e.* the Three are not three separate Gods, but pôssess one eternal nature).
12. As also there are not three uncreated, or three infinites: but one uncreated, and one infinite.
13. So likewise the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty: and the Holy Ghost Almighty.
14. And yet there are not three Almighties: but one Almighty.
15. So the Father is God, the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God.
16. And yet there are not three Gods: but one God.
17. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord: and the Holy Ghost Lord.
18. And yet there are not three Lords: but one Lord.
19. For like as we are compelled by Christian truth to acknowledge every person by himself to be God and Lord;
20. So are we forbidden by the Catholic Religion: to say, There are three Gods, or three Lords (*i.e.* Catholicism repudiates the pagan doctrine that there are many gods).
21. The Father was made by no one; neither created nor begotten.

22. The Son is from the Father only; not made, nor created (*against Arianism*, see p. 87), but begotten (see p. 29).
23. The Holy Ghost is from the Father and the Son; neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but coming forth (*i.e.* there is only one perfect divine sonship, and the Spirit represents intercourse within the Godhead rather than filial relationship).
24. So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.
25. And in this Trinity nothing is before or after, nothing is greater or less (*i.e.* the attributes of each distinct person are as eternal and as perfect as the attributes of the other two persons).
26. But all three persons are co-eternal together and co-equal.
27. So that in all things, as is aforesaid: both the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.
28. He therefore that wisheth to be safe: must thus think of the Trinity.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION

29. Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe faithfully in the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.
30. Therefore the right Faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man.
31. He is God, begotten from the Substance of the Father before the worlds; and He is Man, born of the Substance of His Mother in the world.
32. Perfect God: perfect Man, having a real existence with a rational soul and human flesh (*against Apollinarianism*, see p. 102).

33. Equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead: and inferior to the Father, as touching His Manhood.
34. Who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not two but one Christ (*against Adoptionism*, see p. 69, *and Nestorianism*, see p. 105).
35. One, not by a change of the Godhead into flesh (*against Late Apollinarianism*, see p. 100 ff.): but by taking of the Manhood into God.
36. One indeed, not by confusion of Substance (*against Eutychianism*, see p. 108) but by oneness of person.
37. For as the rational soul and the flesh are one man, so God and Man is one Christ.
38. Who suffered for our salvation; descended into the lower world, on the third day rose again from among the dead.
39. He ascended into heaven, He sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from whence He shall come to judge the living and the dead.
40. At whose coming all men must rise again with their bodies: and shall give account for their own works.
41. And they that have done good will go into life everlasting: but they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

CONCLUSION

42. This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man shall have believed faithfully and firmly, he will not be able to be safe.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

An asterisk shows that the exact year is uncertain.

	A.D.
The Crucifixion of our Lord,	29
Council of the Apostles declares Gentiles free from the law,	49
Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome,	64 or 67
St. John's Gospel teaches that Christ is the Word,	*85
St. Ignatius insists on the necessity of Episcopacy,	*110
Aristides and Quadratus write Apologies for Christianity,	125
Basilides and Valentinus, the Gnostics, flourish,	135
Marcion founds a Semi-Gnostic Church,	144
Montanus introduces a new kind of prophesying,	157
Theophilus uses the word *Trinity*: his doctrine of the Word is partly Stoic,	*180
St. Irenæus carries on St. John's teaching,	*182
Origen born: combined Christian Theology with the best Greek culture,	*185
Adoptionist Unitarianism brought to Rome,	*190
Sabellian Unitarianism taught at Rome,	215
Tertullian expounds the doctrine of the Trinity,	*218
Callistus, bishop of Rome, maintains that Penance is a means for obtaining forgiveness of mortal sin,	*218
Hippolytus dies: was a voluminous theological writer,	235
Manes or Manichæus teaches an eclectic religion,	242
Novatian writes on the Trinity against Sabellius,	*250
St. Cyprian maintains that mortal sin may be forgiven, but insists upon the necessity of Penance,	250
Dionysius of Alexandria dies: opposed Sabellianism,	265

Paul of Samosata condemned for teaching that Jesus became divine at His baptism, ... *269
Lucian dies: he was the forerunner of Arianism, . . 312
Council of **Nicæa**; Arius is condemned for teaching that Christ is a demigod, ... 325
Athanasius becomes bishop of Alexandria, . . . 328
Arian *Blasphemy* Creed; Arianism splits, . . . 357
Council of Constantinople; triumph of the Latitudinarian party of Arians, ... 360
Catholics combine at the Council of Alexandria, . . 362
Apollinaris denies the reality of Christ's soul, . . 380
Council of **Constantinople**; final triumph of Catholicism over Arianism, ... 381
Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, teaches that the Word was only 'connected' with Christ, ... 392
Nestorius, a member of the party of Theodore, denies that Mary is Mother of God, and so denies that the Word became flesh; opposed by St. Cyril, . . . 428
Council of **Ephesus** condemns Nestorianism, . . 431
Eutyches teaches that the manhood of Christ is absorbed by His Deity; opposed by St. Leo, ... 448
The 'Robber-Council' of Ephesus pronounces Eutyches orthodox, and murders Archbishop Flavian, . . 449
Council of **Chalcedon** condemns Eutyches and draws up a *Definition* of the doctrine of the Incarnation, . . 451

INDEX

ABSOLUTION. *See* Penitence.
Acacius the Homœan, 94.
Acts, doctrine of, 10.
Adoptionism, 41, 69; Nestorianism resembles it, 106.
Aetius, 92.
Alexandria, Christianity in, 59; Council at, 96.
Alexandrine theology, opposed to Antiochene, 103.
Anastasius, presbyter of Nestorius, 105.
Anointing at Confirmation, 82; of the sick, 86.
Anomœan Arians, 92.
Antichrist, in 2 *Thessalonians*, 20; in *Didache*, 33.
Antioch, Councils at, 70, 91.
Apocalypse, Christology of, 30.
Apollinaris, 101.
Apologists, 32, 48.
Apostles' Creed, 35.
Apostolical succession, 32, 37, 85.
Archelaus, Dispute of, 71.
Arius, 71, 87; his doctrine Polytheistic, 88.
Armenian Christianity, 71, 86, 112.
Artemon, 70.
Asceticism, of St. Paul, 16; of Colossian heretics, 22; of Gnostics, 44.
Athanasian Creed, 114.
Athanasius, on the Incarnation, 90; his Council at Alexandria, 96; on Christ's human knowledge, 99.
Atonement, as taught by Christ 8; by St. Paul, 16, 22; in *Hebrews*, 24; by Irenæus, 54; by Tertullian, 58; by Origen, 64; by Athanasius, 90.
Augustine, on the Trinity, 113.

BAPTISM, 9, 74; of infants, 75.
Bardesanes, the Gnostic, 44.
Barnabas, Epistle of, 36.
Basil of Ancyra, 93.
Basil of Cæsarea, 97.
Basilides, the Gnostic, 45.
Bishops. *See* Episcopacy.
Blasphemy Creed, 93.

CÆSAREAN CREED, modified at Nicæa, 89.
Callistus, bishop of Rome, relations with Monarchians, 67, 68; on Penitence, 81.
Catholic Church, first called thus, 39.
Celestine, bishop of Rome, appealed to by Nestorius, 105.
Chalcedon, Council of, 110.
Christ, claim of, 2; His consubstantiality with God, 89 ff., 111; His human knowledge, 99; His consubstantiality with man, 100, 102, 111.
Church, relation to kingdom of God, 8; unity of, 23; organisation of, 39, 83.
Clement of Alexandria, 60.

Clement of Rome, Epistle of, 36; on the Eucharist, 78; Second Epistle of, 37.
Clementine apocryphal literature, 34.
Colossians, Epistle to, Christology of, 22.
Communion. *See* Eucharist.
Confession, 80.
Confirmation, 82.
Corinthians, Epistles to, Christology of, 20.
Creed, Apostles', 35; of Nicæa, 89; of Jerusalem, 97; of Chalcedon, 110.
Cyprian, on the Eucharist, 79; on Penitence, 81.
Cyril of Alexandria, opposes Nestorianism, 105; Christology of, 106.

Dated Creed of Sirmium, 95.
Dedication Creed of Antioch, 91.
Didache, theology of, 32; on Sacraments, 74, 76.
Diodore, teaches that Christ was two persons, 103.
Dionysius of Alexandria, 118.
Dioscorus of Alexandria, 109.
Docetism, 38; of Gnostics, 44; in Clement, 61.
Dualism, 43, 45.

EBIONITES, 34.
Elkesai, 34.
Emanations from God, 45, 54.
Ephesians, Epistle to, theology of, 23.
Ephesus, Council of, 105.
—— Robber-Council of, 109.
Episcopacy, 39, 83.
Eschatology. *See* Judgment.
Essene Ebionites, 34.
Eucharist, in Gospels, 9; in later theology, 75 ff.
Eunomius, the Arian, 92.
Eusebius of Cæsarea, 90.
Eusebius of Nicomedia, 90.
Eutyches, 107.

FAITH, in St. Paul, 17; in St. John, 26.
Fasting, in *Didache*, 33; in 2 *Clement*, 38.
Fire purgatorial, 64.
Flavian, 109.

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY, 35.
Gnostics, 31, 42; alleged influence on Catholicism, 46, 73.
God, Fatherhood of, 6; abstract views of, 49, 93.
God, Son of, 4.
God-Man, phrase of Origen, 64.
Gregory of Nazianzus, opposes Apollinarianism, 102.
Gregory of Nyssa, on the Trinity, 97.

Hermas, Shepherd of, doctrine not Adoptionist, 41; on baptism, 74; on penitence, 80.
Hilary of Poictiers, on Arianism, 94.
Hippolytus, opposes Monarchianism, 67; opposes Callistus, 81.
Homœan Arians, 94.
Homo-ousios, phrase of Gnostics, 46; in Clement, 61; in Origen, 63; at Nicæa, 89.
Homoi-ousios, a Semi-Arian phrase disliked by Anomœans, 93.

Hypostasis, in sense of substance or essence, 24, 97; in sense varying between essence and person, 66; in sense of person, 97, 111.

IGNATIUS, opposes Docetism, 38; on Episcopacy, 39, 84; on the Eucharist, 76, 78.

Indulgences, ancient and modern, contrasted, 82.

Irenæus, his doctrine of God, 53; of the Word, 54; on infant baptism, 75; on the Eucharist, 76.

Istar, Babylonian Goddess, in Gnosticism, 43.

James, St., Epistle of, 11; on unction of the sick, 86.

Jerusalem, early Christianity at, 10; second destruction of, 31.

John the Apostle, on the teaching of Christ, 5; agreement with St. Paul, 26; doctrine of the Word, 27; of the only-begotten Son, 29.

John of Antioch, 105.

Judaistic Christianity, 32.

Jude, St., Epistle of, 12.

Judgment by Christ, 3, 4.

Justin Martyr, 48 ff.

KINGDOM OF GOD, in teaching of Christ, 7; in *Didache*, 33.

Lapsi, 81.

Latrocinium, Robber-Council at Ephesus, 109.

Law, St. Paul's conception of, 18.

Laying-on of hands, in confirmation, 82; in ordination, 85.

Leo, bishop of Rome, his *Tome* against Eutyches, 109.

Logos Doctrine, in Philo, 28; in St. John, 29; in Apologists, 49; in Irenæus, 54; in Clement, 60; in Origen, 63.

Lord's Supper. *See* Eucharist.

Lucian, the martyr, forerunner of Arianism, 71, 87; so-called Creed of, 91.

MACEDONIUS, THE SEMI-ARIAN, 98.

Mandaites, an existing Gnostic sect, 43.

Manes, or Mani, or Manichæus, 44, 118.

Manicheans, origin and tenets of, 44; connection with Augustine, 113.

Marcellus of Ancyra, revives Sabellianism, 91.

Marcion, his doctrine half Catholic, half Gnostic, 46.

Marriage, ritual of, 73; doctrine of, 85.

Mary, as Virgin, 39, 51; as the second Eve, 54; as Mother of God, 105.

Meletius of Antioch, 93.

Memra, 28.

Merits, human, in 2 *Clement*, 38; in Tertullian, 58.

Messiah, 3.

Millennium, in Papias, 41.

Minucius Felix, Latin Apologist, 48.

Monarchianism, Tertullian on, 56; Modalist form of, 67; Adoptionist form of, 69.

Montanism, 52.

Mother of God. *See Theotokos.*

Muhammadanism, derived from Ebionism, 35.
Mysteries pagan, alleged influence on Christianity, 73.

NATURE ONE, of Christ, in Apollinaris, 101; in Cyril, 107; in Eutyches, 108.
Natures, Two, of Christ, in Cyril, 106; in Leo, 109.
Neo-Platonism, influence of, 49, 57, 60, 62.
Nestorius, 104; justly condemned, 105; kindred error in Nestorianism and Eutychianism, 108.
Nicæa, Council of, 89.
Nice, Arian creed of, 95.
Noetus, the Patripassian, 67.
Novatian, opposes Monarchianism, 67; opposes Cyprian, 81.

ORIGEN, on God, 62; on Redemption, 64; on the Sacraments, 75, 77.
Ousia, Substance or Essence, 56, 95, 97.

PANTÆNUS, 59.
Papias, 40.
Patripassians, 67.
Paul the Apostle, 15.
Paul of Samosata, 70.
Paulicians, 71.
Penitence or Repentance, in teaching of Christ, 7; in later teaching, 41, 79 ff.
Person, in Christology, 103 ff.; in the Trinity, 66, 68, 97, 113.
Peter, St., Epistles of, 12.
Philippians, Epistle to, 21.
Philo, doctrine of the Word, 28.
Pneumatomachi, 98.
Polycarp, 39.
Praxeas, 67.
Pre-existence of Christ, 20 ff.; of the soul of Christ, 65.
Priesthood, of Christ, 24; of clergy and laity, 79.
Prisca or Priscilla, the Montanist, 52.
Psilanthropism. *See* Adoptionism.

Quicunque vult. *See* Athanasian Creed.

REAL PRESENCE, 76.
Recapitulation of man in Christ, 54.
Reconciliation of man with God. *See* Atonement.
Repentance. *See* Penitence.
Righteousness, as taught by St. Paul, 17.
Roman or Apostles' Creed, 32, 35.
Romans, Epistle to, 16, 21.

SABELLIUS, 68.
Sacerdotalism, alleged, of Cyprian, 81.
Sacraments, 9, 72 ff.; seven Sacraments, 74.
Sacrifice, in *Hebrews*, 25; of the Eucharist, 77.
Salvation, Christ's teaching about, 7.
Samaria, Gnosticism at, 44.
Scriptures, Canon of, 32.
Self-emptying,' or self-surrender, of Christ, in St. Paul, 21; in Athanasius, 100; in Cyril, 107.

Semi-Arians, 93.
Simon Magus, 44.
Sin, St. Paul's doctrine of, 15.
Sinlessness or Impeccability of Christ, Apollinarian doctrine of, 101; Catholic doctrine of, 102, 104
Sins, treatment of, 79.
Socinus, revives Arianism, 88.
Soul of Christ, 65, 88, 101.
Spirit, a term used of Christ's divine nature, 21, 26, 37, 38, 41.
Spirit, Holy, personality of, 9, 11, 16, 37, 42; asserted at second General Council, 98; work of, 10, 63; revolution in the name of, by Montanists, 52.
Stoicism, 27, 50, 57, 68.
Subordination of Christ, 87.
Substance of God, 24, 57. *See also Hypostasis* and *Ousia*.
Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, 33.
Synoptic Gospels, date of, 1; Christology of, 2 ff.

TARGUMS, doctrine of the Word in, 28.
Tatian, as an Apologist, 48; uses our four Gospels only, 51.
Tertullian, 55; doctrine of the Trinity in, 56; of the Incarnation, 57; on penitence, 80.
Testament, Canon of the Old, 30; of the New, 32.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, teaches a double personality in Christ, 103.
Theodoret, reconciles Antiochene and Alexandrine schools, 105.
Theodosius I., summons Council of Constantinople, 97.
Theodosius II., summons a Council of Ephesus, 109; death of, 110.
Theophilus of Antioch, as an Apologist, 48; is the first to use the Greek word for Trinity, 51.
Theotokos, title of Mary, 105.
Trinity, doctrine of, in New Testament, 9, 12, 26; first use of term in Greek, 51; in Latin, 56; doctrine of, in Tertullian, 56; in Sabellius, 68; at Council of Alexandria, 97; in Augustine, 113.

UNCTION OF THE SICK, 86.
Union, hypostatic, 106.
Unitarianism, Ebionite, 33; Modalist, 67; Adoptionist, 69; modern, 67, 88.
Ursacius, 95.

VALENS THE ARIAN, 94.
Valentinus the Gnostic, 45.
Victor, bishop of Rome, 67, 69.
Vincentius of Lerinum, 114.
Virgin, the Blessed. *See* Mary.

WESTCOTT, on the word 'confess,' 80.
Wisdom, Book of, personifies the Word of God, 28.
Word. *See* Logos.

ZEPHYRINUS, bishop of Rome, 67.
Zoroastrianism, influenced Gnosticism, 43; and Manicheism, 45; described by Theodore, 102.

An Introduction to the History of the Church of England; from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.
By H. O. WAKEMAN, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, and Tutor of Keble College, Oxford.
Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

An Altar Book, containing the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, according to the Book of Common Prayer, together with additional matter translated from the English Missals of the earlier part of the Sixteenth Century. Edited by A COMMITTEE OF PRIESTS.
Royal Quarto. Printed in Large Type on paper specially made for the Work. £2, 2s. net, in sheets only.

The Christian's Manual. Containing the chief things which a Christian ought to Know, Believe, and Do to his Soul's Health. By the Rev. W. H. H. JERVOIS, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square. With a Preface by the Right Rev. C. C. GRAFTON, D.D., Bishop of Fond-du-Lac. Second Edition. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

God and Prayer; a Discussion on the Reasonableness of Prayer. By BOYD VINCENT, Bishop-Coadjutor of Southern Ohio. Crown 8vo. 2s.

The Way of Happiness, or the Art of being Happy and making others so. Translated and adapted from the French by CATHERINE M. WELBY. With a Preface by W. H. HUTTON, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Ely. Fcap. 8vo. 1s.

The Teaching of the Russian Church, particularly on those Questions in which its Teaching differs from that of the Western Church, and on which controversy and discussion have been raised. By ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, B.D., Rector of Welwyn, Herts. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.
Published for the Eastern Church Association.

The Early History of the Hebrews. By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. Author of 'The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotos.' Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotos.
By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS, 34 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

Some Titles and Aspects of the Eucharist.
By the Right Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Sermons Preached in the Parish Church of Leeds, 1889-1895.
By the Right Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester. Crown 8vo. 5s.

The Mystery of the Cross; being Eight Addresses on the Atonement. By the Rev. W. O. BURROWS, M.A., Principal of the Clergy School, Leeds. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

From Advent to Advent. Sermons preached at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. By the late AUBREY L. MOORE, M.A. Second and Cheaper Edition with a new Preface by the Rev. WALTER LOCK, M.A., Warden of Keble College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Some Aspects of Sin. Three Courses of Sermons.
By the late AUBREY L. MOORE, M.A. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

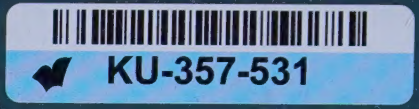
The Message of the Gospel. Addresses to Candidates for Ordination, and Sermons preached chiefly before the University of Oxford. By the late AUBREY L. MOORE, M.A. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

A Continuous Narrative of the Life of Christ. In the words of the Four Gospels. With Introductions and Notes.
Arranged by the Rev. A. E. HILLARD, M.A. Crown 8vo. With Maps and Plans. 2s. 6d.

The King's Highway of the Holy Cross. Forty-two Outlines of Meditation on Psalm cxviii. 27, and the 'Imitation of Christ,' Book II. xii., for the use of Invalids and others. With a Preface by the Very Rev. H. B. BROMBY, Vicar of All Saints, Clifton, and sometime Dean of Hobart, Tasmania. Crown 8vo. 3s.

Daily Footsteps in the Church's Path; being Daily Readings in Prose and Verse arranged in the Order of the Church's Year, from Advent to All Saints' Day. With a Preface by the Rev. THOMAS B. DOVER, M.A., Vicar of Old Malden, Surrey. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS, 34 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN.


KU-357-531